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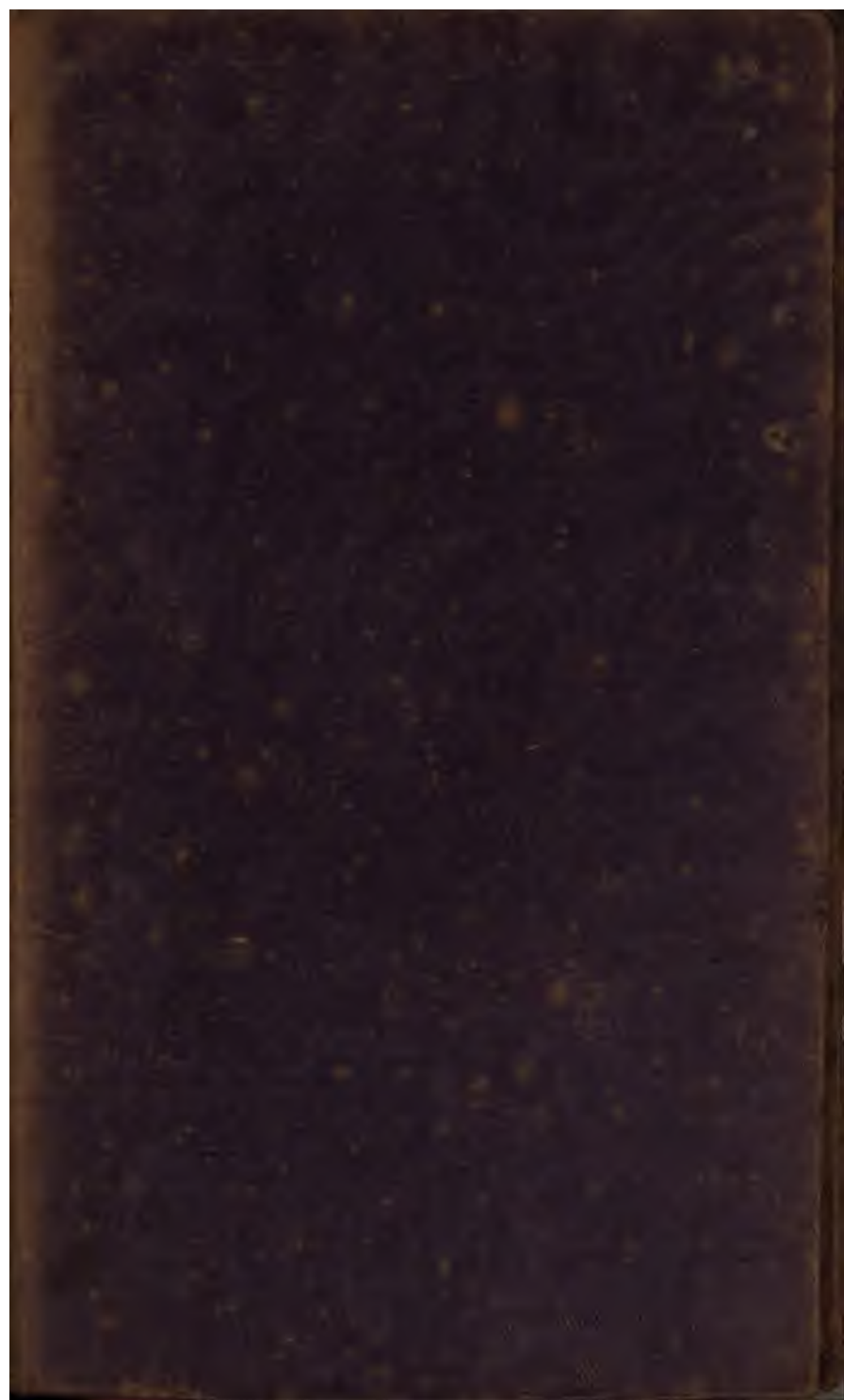
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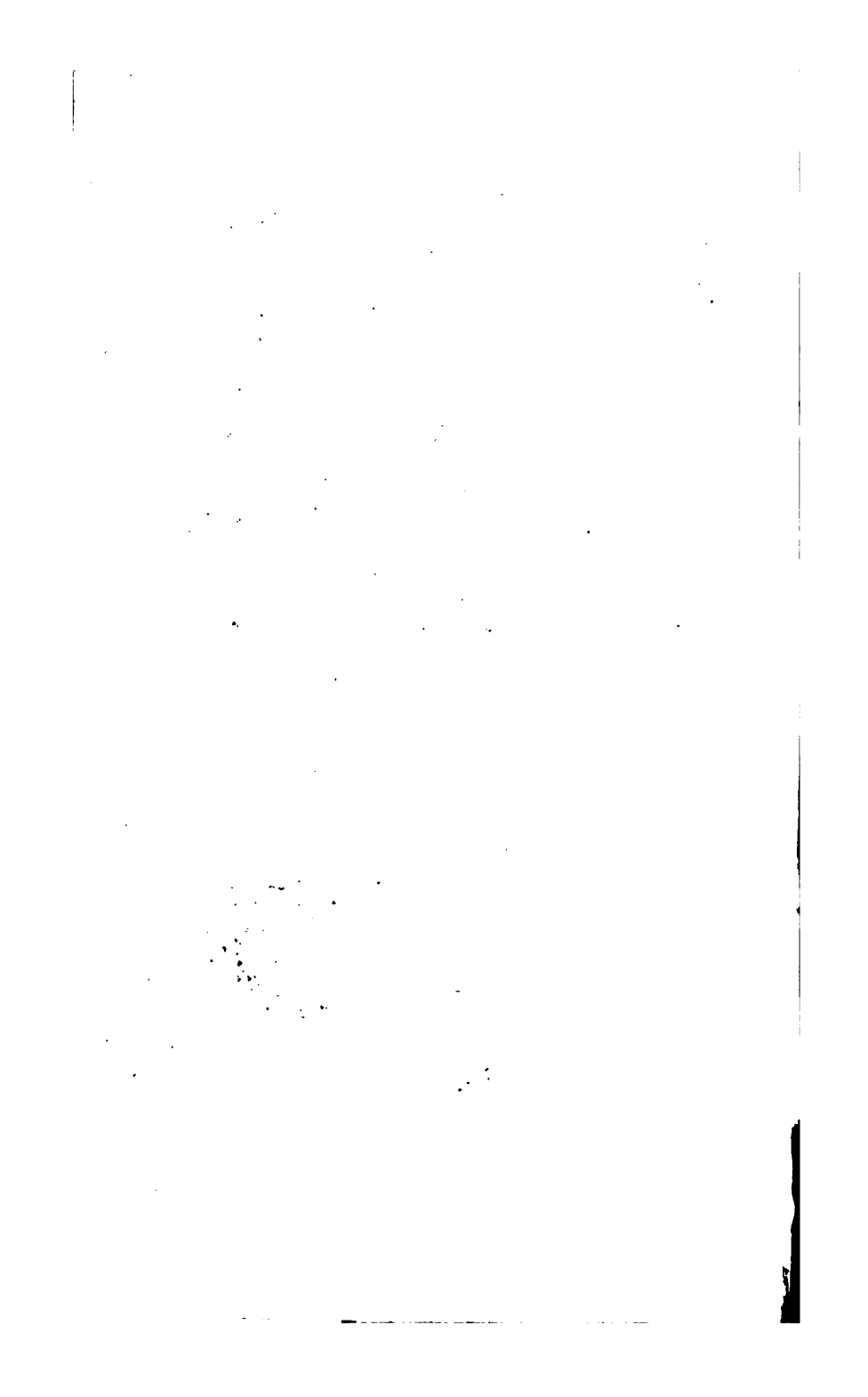


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IRISH  
TRANQUILLITY  
UNDER  
MR. O'CONNELL,  
MY LORD MULGRAVE,  
AND THE  
ROMISH PRIESTHOOD.

BY  
ANTHONY MEYLER, M.D. M.R.I.A.



DUBLIN:  
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## PREFACE.

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THE following pages have been written chiefly with the view of placing before the English people, Radicals as well as Tories, the political condition of Ireland, the real objects of those who now agitate and disturb it, and the consequences that must result, unless prompt and energetic measures of security are immediately adopted.

The excitement, now so industriously and so fearfully kept up in Ireland, is not caused by any political feeling in the orderly and more respectable classes of society; there is no principle whatsoever of civil liberty mixed up with it—it is not even a contest between the Tory and the Liberal—it is a warfare against Protestantism and the connexion with England, carried on by the peasant at the instigation of the priest.

The Popish clergy are the real and the only excitors of the rebellious and lawless feelings now so prevalent, the people if left to themselves would be tranquil, and would remain deaf to the voice of the agitator, if it were not re-echoed by the voice of the priests. They are the only effective agitators, and their power is obtained by the agency of superstition. They openly denounce tithes from their altars, and not only advise the people not to pay them; but in all their letters, and in all their speeches, either at aggregate meetings, or from the rostrums of their mass-houses, they excite



the people to hatred against England and her religion. They are unceasing in their efforts to establish the dominion of their mode of worship—nothing but the full possession of the privileges and emoluments of the Established Church will satisfy them, and they must be temporal as well as spiritual despots also. They habitually assume those temporal titles which the Crown alone has the privilege of bestowing—one of them even has already usurped the title of the Archbishop of Tuam, and doubtless the example will be followed when it is found that this encroachment on the privileges of the Established Church has been made with impunity.

The country totters on the brink of a fearful abyss—moderation is scoffed at—the Protestant minister is thrown into the back ground, whilst the Popish priest stands out in full and prominent relief, and a weak and faithless government, instead of ruling the country with an equal hand, and giving to the different parties in the state their due consideration, have entered into an unnatural and an unholy compact with radicals and priests—a Protestant government and a Popish priesthood have leagued against the Protestant gentry, and Ireland is now governed by the agency of a Popish faction. Nearly all the respectable Protestants, with the exception of a few officials, have deserted the Castle in disgust, and the Viceroy enacts royalty, to a new and to a totally different audience.

A tremendous crisis is approaching, and we are on the eve of a struggle between the peasantry, goaded on by their priests, and the Protestant Church and its members. Ireland is the field where the battle of religious freedom and the constitution may again be fought; and unless the Protestants awake to a sense of

their danger, and take the necessary measures of security, the priests will be the rulers of the country, and the reign of Popery will again be dominant in Ireland. Every Protestant, therefore, who values his religion and the connexion with England, and who now sides with the priest, should seriously consider the game he is playing, under the mis-called name of liberty, and every honest and independent man is called on to declare his opinion, and the part he is prepared to take in the approaching conflict.

Fortunately, it is not yet too late to save the country, and England had never a more glorious opportunity of cementing her union with Ireland than she has at present. All the orderly portion of society are with her—all the respectable classes of the Roman Catholics are adverse to radicalism and priestly dominion—they have ceased to be disloyal, and are now, I would almost say, to a man, attached to the constitution and to the connexion with England; they are not hostile, politically speaking, to the Established Church, and they do not subscribe to the intolerant and subversive principles of the Church which they follow. They are also most desirous to associate in friendly and social intercourse with the Protestants of their own rank and station in society.

It is from the priesthood of the Church of Rome that danger is alone to be apprehended, but formidable as that danger is, it is not yet too late to counteract it:—

“The brave and active conquer difficulties,  
By labouring to surmount them,  
Cowardice and sloth sink under them.  
And make the impossibility they fear.”

In thus freely and honestly expressing my sentiments respecting the Romish priests and their religion, I am not influenced by any preconceived or party feeling of hostility against them. My present sentiments are the result of conviction from long and impartial consideration, and no one can suppose I write in a bad spirit towards my Roman Catholic friends and countrymen. My parents believed in the creed of the Romish Church; I was myself educated in its doctrines, and in schools superintended by its priests; I had in early life been told the story of Ireland's wrongs, and of its oppression by the Saxon and the Protestant, and how my own family, like so many others, were despoiled of their property for their conscientious adherence to the religion in which they were educated, and in whose doctrines they trusted for salvation.

I regarded that religion with a species of filial reverence—as the religion of my kindred and my country. It was endeared to me by its being oppressed, and I clung the closer to it on that account. I felt as keenly and as indignantly as others the pressure of the impolitic code of laws by which its professors were then oppressed; and when circumstances, now not necessary to mention, led me to question the truth of the doctrines of that church, in which the accident of birth caused me to be educated—so strongly were my political feelings identified with those of the Roman Catholics, that I still continued ostensibly amongst them, though from my soul I loathed the dark bondage of that superstition in which their minds were held captive. As long as the chain of temporal servitude was fastened to the Roman Catholics, and as long as they were unwisely and unjustly oppressed for conscience sake,

I remained with them, suffered my full portion of their degradation, and voluntarily subjected myself to the heavy pressure of those restrictive laws, which impeded me in every effort I made to advance myself in life.

I say this, not to take any honor to myself, for it is now given to me to know that I acted under a misguided and an unchristian feeling; but to evince the disinterested sincerity and devotedness with which I adhered to them. I hailed as warmly as others, and felt as gratefully the boon which restored the Roman Catholics to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and I did so the more from the conviction, which even the present excited and deplorable condition of the country has not removed—that when the political feeling which intervened to turn away the minds of the Roman Catholics from the Gospel, was removed, by their temporal emancipation; that their spiritual emancipation would soon follow, and that we should find them recurring to the sacred volume, as the only guide, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to lead them to Christ, and to trust in our Divine Redeemer alone, and not in priestly mummeries for their salvation; and that when purified from the gross and superstitious doctrines of the heathenish church, in which they had been educated, that we should find them taking the hands of their Protestant fellow-countrymen in Christian fellowship and community of religious belief, inspired with mutual zeal for the welfare of their common country, and above all, for the diffusion of the sacred volume, and for the instruction of the people in its precepts.

I can now surely incur no imputation in coming out

from the Church of Rome, and protesting against its doctrines—if I were so base as to act the hypocrite, and to profess, as others may have done, an outward show of belief in a superstition which in secret I despised—if I contributed to swell the gale of turbulence, and declaimed against tithes and the Established Church, I might from the position in which I stood, and through the influence of those, who now command the Castle, have reaped the reward of my agitation. In now coming forward in the support of the opinions I entertain, and which in the exigencies of the present times I feel myself impelled to avow; and in raising up my feeble voice, to warn my countrymen to guard themselves against the encroachments of the arrogant and intolerant priesthood of the Romish Church, I thereby voluntarily close the door on my advancement.

In avowing the sentiments I entertain towards the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and the political objects of its priesthood, I do not relinquish the political opinions I always did, and which I ever will cherish—I am a liberal in the legitimate acceptance of the word, the advocate of free institutions, and the enemy of all intolerant and exclusive privileges. But the liberty I worship is not licentiousness—it is not the dominion of a ferocious rabble, excited by priests and demagogues for selfish and bad purposes, but a liberty where rank and intelligence would have their due weight, and where life and property would be secure.

The class of men who from their position in society are prone to turbulence and spoliation, should not have the preponderating power in the state. They will seek to appropriate the property of others to themselves, they will return members to Parliament

congenial to their own turbulence. In such a state of things the most factious and lawless would be the masters of the country, and it would be reduced to one bad level of lawlessness and disorganization, in which neither property, liberty nor life, would be secure. Government, under such circumstances, would be a dangerous power, exercised by unprincipled and selfish men, confederated together in one common bond against the laws and institutions of the country.

The political power of the State should be invested in those most competent to exercise it. The authority of government should be based on the property, the morality and the intelligence of the country—it is from these alone that the machinery of a good government can be derived—the less cultivated classes of society should not be allowed to sway those who are cultivated, they could neither exercise such a power for their own benefit or for that of others. The ignorant should not rule the informed—the servile the independent—the turbulent should not have the dominion over those who are interested in the preservation of order. Every section in the social frame should have its due and legitimate estimation. The aristocracy should rule the mob, and not the mob the aristocracy—the peer should not be governed by the peasant, the landlord by his tenant, or the master by those to whom he gives employment. The Roman Catholic tenant should not legislate for his Protestant landlord—the Romish priest should not legislate, as he now does, for the Protestant Church.\* The peasantry and the mob should not, as they are now in Ireland, be the masters of the

\* Qui facit per alium facit per se.

country—the despotism of a democracy is of all others the most despotic, and the most formidable—it disregards the usual moral checks of society—it is subject to no restraint—it is careless of opinion—it laughs at the law, and obeys no power but the impulse of its lawless and ferocious passions.

It is idle to talk of man's natural equality—it exists only in the fancy of dreaming enthusiasts—but the doctrine is brought forward by factious and ambitious men who have no other road to power, except by the lawless and rebellious propensities of the disaffected. There is no natural equality amongst men either in position, or in their physical, moral or intellectual endowments. The Almighty in creating man, and in investing him with various qualities of mind, and different degrees of intelligence, has fitted him for the peculiar duties he is to perform in that position of society in which he is placed. Government is instituted for the security of life, property, and personal liberty, the end and the object of all government is PROTECTION. It is not, as some would lead us to suppose, an imaginary compact—a mutual surrender of certain natural rights for a common object—government is imposed on the people by the law of necessity—it is a confederation for security.

Property is the creature of the law; and the same law that secures to the individual the possession of those riches which his enterprise has wrung from the otherwise unproductive materials of nature, stimulates, to industry and improvement. It creates all those useful arts which administer to our social and domestic comforts; it creates all those fine arts and these splendid works of imagination, which exalt and refine the intel-

lectual character of man ; riches, mental cultivation, and refinement, flow from the security of the law.

History teaches by example ; it gives wisdom and experience to the legislator, and enables him to decide on the utility of the law which he causes to be enacted. There is a progressive order in man's intellectual progress—political power, therefore, should be progressive also—it should be imparted only as wisdom, knowledge, orderly habits, and wealth, progress with it—its possession would be not only useless, but dangerous, when not under the guidance of wisdom and intellectual cultivation. All useful ameliorations in the abuses of government, must be the result of time, of experience and of intelligence ; they must be gradual also. The minister who succumbs to a revolutionary party, and who shapes his measures to their views to maintain power, not alone degrades his political character, but endangers the security of the state he is called on to govern.

It would be destructive to society to invest with authority a lawless and ignorant populace. True liberty is not licentiousness ; it does not consist in the tyranny of the mob over the orderly portion of society.\* It is one thing to open the gates of the constitution to the loyalty and respectability of the Roman Catholics, but it is another thing to give them a dangerous ascendancy, and to surrender up to the lowest classes of their community the power and the dominion of the state. A class of people ferocious and lawless in their habits, and the victims of a foul and debasing

\* All the foregoing subject is admirably well discussed in a very able work, lately published in two parts, entitled, " Thoughts on the Elements of Civil Government."



superstition, are not the proper agents to select those to whom the enactment and the administration of the laws are to be confided. In such a calamitous state of affairs, the most factious and lawless would become the masters of the country, and a constituency under priestly dominion would be selected, who would exert the power so unwisely entrusted to them to enable their priestly masters, in their now undisguised efforts, to batter down all the old institutions of the country and every security for Protestantism, to rule supreme in the country, and to establish a foul and intolerant superstition on the ruins of a Christian church.

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It was originally the intention of the author to have entered into a discussion of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, more particularly as they contribute to extend the temporal dominion of its priesthood, and to point out such measures as were calculated to keep down their power in Ireland, and to emancipate the people from their dominion; but on reflection, it has been judged more advisable to make these most important subjects the matter of another publication.

## INTRODUCTION.

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AT no period in the history of Ireland did this distracted and devoted country present so awful an aspect as it does at the present moment; and under whatever point of view we may regard its political and religious condition, whether as Protestants or as Roman Catholics, we must be alike impressed with the conviction, that a great and alarming crisis is impending.

A total disorganization and subversion of the present order of things, is evidently the object of those who now constitute the movement party in Ireland. The very elements of the social frame are separating and forming themselves into new and fearful combinations; and he must, indeed, be blind to passing events, and but little accustomed to "read history teaching by example," who cannot see clearly that the foundation is now being laid for an overwhelming change in the religious and political condition of Ireland; a change which will, ere long, be effected by means of an ignorant, superstitious and excited peasantry, unless proper measures are at once taken to prevent so awful a catastrophe.

The tranquillity which the relief bill would have produced has been frustrated by the policy of those who speculate in agitation. The war cry still affrights the land, though the object for which it was raised has been obtained. Unfortunately, however, many who are adverse to commotion, give an apparent sanction to the agitation so unremittingly pursued, by remaining in the camp of the agitator, unmindful that he has now entered into a new warfare, and into one, too, totally distinct from that in which they themselves were formerly engaged.

The contest for emancipation and constitutional liberty is no more, the demand was made and has been granted. The Roman Catholic now meets his Protestant fellow countryman on the broad level of equality; he enjoys equally with him every political and religious privilege. In whatever pursuit of life he may be engaged, or to whatever objects his aspiring ambition may be directed, the open and unequivocal avowal of his religious creed, now no longer offers any impediment to his advancement.

In considering the privileges bestowed by the Relief bill, on the Roman Catholics, and the position in which it has placed them, we shall find that they have not only obtained their full measure of civil and religious liberty, but that they have even gained the ascendant, and the Roman Catholic is now the dominant party in Ireland. The injudicious extension of the elective franchise, has not only given a preponderance to the Roman Catholic party: but it has subjected the respectable portion of that body, to a dominion far more galling and degrad-

ing, than that from which they have been recently relieved.

The political power of the Roman Catholic peasantry, is now greater than that of their landlords, be they Protestant or Romanists, and the peasantry regardless of consequences, exercise that power in opposition to them. The Roman Catholic landlord is not alone controlled by his tenantry, but a far more formidable power is now arising up to oppress him. He is in danger of being again subjected to the spiritual and temporal dominion of the church of Rome. Its Priests, after solemnly promising they would retire within their mass-houses, and cease to agitate, if the boon of emancipation were given, now agitate more than ever. It is by their agency that agitation is kept up, and that not for any object beneficial to the laity,—but for objects which would be most oppressive and injurious to them. The priests steadily pursue their own object alone, and that object is the dominant ascendancy of their church and of themselves and every one who considers the line of conduct they are now pursuing—and who has taken a lesson from the most superficial perusal of history, must be convinced, that nothing will satisfy them less—than the full possession of the revenues of the Protestant church, and even this would not satisfy them,—they must be temporal despots also. To attain these objects the peasantry are kept in their present frightful state of excitement, ruinous alike to the peace, the security and the prosperity of the country. Mr. O'Connell is the priest's hired and subservient instrument to effect their designs: he blows for them the horn, and they are as the sounding board.

## INTRODUCTION.

to diffuse and give effect to his discordant and harrowing music.

The supineness, to say the least of it, of the Irish government has allowed all this formidable note of preparation to go on unchecked and unheeded,—it has permitted the priests and their instruments, to mature and organize their plans in security. The peasantry excited to lawlessness may readily be called into action when the time is favourable. The leash that holds the blood-hound, is easily loosed, and then “cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war.”

The agitation that pervades England is altogether of a political character; it is essentially, whether the better classes of society, are to hold the reins of government, or whether they are to be surrendered up to the guidance of the very lowest. There is in Ireland, properly speaking, no such contest, it is here altogether a religious one. Were the radical party unfortunately to triumph in England, a republic would necessarily be the result; were the same party to triumph here, no matter what might be the form of government that would be adopted,—the spiritual and temporal ascendancy of the church of Rome and of its priesthood, would be sure to follow.

The lower classes here, are not as they are in England, more especially in its manufacturing districts, politicians. They never think of municipal reform, annual parliaments, universal suffrage, nor any of those other political questions, which produce so much excitement in the sister country. If left to themselves they would entertain no hostility to the government,—nor to the national church,—nor to its ministers,—

nor even to their revenues as such. Tithes on becoming a fixed and acreable tax, have ceased to be a grievance to the tiller of the soil : and the evils which have of late arisen from their collection, are mainly attributable to those, who have so unremittingly excited the people to a lawless resistance.

The gift of education was gratefully and universally hailed as a valuable boon by the people ; they apprehended no danger from their children reading the bible in the Kildare-place, and other schools. All the efforts of the priests to deprive them of the benefits of literary, and religious instruction were in vain, till government came to their aid, and established the NATIONAL SCHOOLS, from which the word of God is excluded, and its place supplied, by superstitious and lying legends and controversial popish catechisms.

Whatever therefore, may be the case in England, there are not now any speculative notions in Ireland, that would lead the *people* to resist the government, or oppose themselves to the law ; all causes of popular discontent are now merely local, and are such as arise from poverty, and want of employment : and these are mainly produced by the agitation that is kept up. The priest has separated the peasant from his natural protector ; he inspires him with a feeling of hostility to his landlord, and drags him to the hustings often against his will—and by the threat of refusing absolution, compels him to give perhaps a perjured vote in support of his own nominee.

The landlord naturally dreads such a power, arrayed by such agency against him, and a feeling is created in his mind which prevents all useful measures of amelioration. Many desert their residences in dis-

taste, or in fear, and the country is thus deprived of the wealth, and moral influence of a resident gentry. No capitalist will embark his property, in works of useful and productive industry, in the centre of a lawless populace, and thus the people are, in consequence of their own conduct, deprived of employment,—paying the penalty of their own turbulence. No measures are ever thought of to recompence the unfortunate peasant for the injury he has sustained, by being made the blind and miserable instrument of the revolutionary leaders. When he is ejected from his little tenement, and destitute of employment, his heartless and unprincipled excitors never dream of recompensing the wretched victim whom they have misled. His distress may form a topic of declamation in the House of Commons, or at the hustings, whilst the misery which has resulted from following the advice of those—who excite only to betray, will also preserve him as a more ready agent in the work of turbulence and of revolution.

The long agitation, of the Roman Catholic question, has called into activity a new class of politicians, most of whom still follow the trade of agitation; ignorant of the true interests of the country, and careless of its improvement, they seek only notoriety for themselves. These men have not within themselves any of the legitimate elements of civil power,—they have neither influence nor talent, nor numbers to accomplish their objects, and some of them agitate for interest or notoriety alone, not distinctly knowing what political measures they mean to effect, or how they are to be accomplished; vague ideas of liberty and separation may float down the shallow and bubbling current of their minds,

but they are headless and purposeless. These speculative republicans, and revolutionary politicians, who follow in the wake of Mr. O'Connell, are to all intents and purposes as nothing; except so far as they contribute to swell the gale of turbulence. They constitute an audience for the leading actor to declaim to—they obey his commands—register his earthly vows,—and assemble or disperse at his bidding. There is not a man of talent in connexion with them, for though apparently of their body, I should be sorry to identify with them, such men as Mr. Shiel, or Mr. Wyse.

If the chief agitator and the priests stood aloof, they would not be able to get up a public meeting at which five respectable men would be present, I doubt much whether they could even assemble the chairmen or the coal-porters.

In truth there is no real union between these Solons and the priests; the latter never were, nor are they now nor ever will be republicans.—In every country the Roman priesthood have always been the advocates of despotism, and the enemies of civil liberty, and above all of its great engine the press.

The operation of the penal code in Ireland, placed the priest in such a position as compelled him to unite with the republican party; the same chain pressed them down together, and it was the policy of both to make every effort for its removal: they both felt its pressure alike, and they concurred in their efforts to break the bondage in which they were held.

It may be demanded, is not that chain now broken, and do not these respective parties appear to be still united, and do they not continue to occupy the same common position? But even so, it is for objects so



totally distinct, that they are, in fact, the very antipodes to each other. In general the better and more intelligent class of radicals, neither regard the priest, nor believe in his religion. Popery, however many may seemingly profess it, is in fact rapidly waning away amongst the more intelligent ; it was the pressure of the penal code that produced the outward conformity, and the present state of parties continues to maintain it. But reason is at length beginning to resume her sway, and superstition is fast losing its hold of the enlightened class of Roman Catholics. But all of them from the highest to the lowest are most hostile, whatever may be their religious belief, to the *temporal* power of the priesthood.

The priest tolerates no authority but his own, the dream of civil liberty never disturbs his holy slumbers. The Pope is Christ's vice-gerent—the priest is his aidecamp, and *his* church is Christianity. He tells his followers that there is no salvation out of its pale, and that every other form of Christianity is a damnable heresy ;—the power of the church—is the power of the priest, he admits none other, and when he lends himself to despotism, it is for an equivalent, and because he himself enslaves the tyrant that rules. He has no sympathy with the radical ; no community of common interest, and he has under the happy auspices of Lord Mulgrave now been enabled to assume a much more elevated position for himself. His cupidity already anticipates the possession of the revenues of the established church. It is not civil liberty he seeks—his objects are wealth and domination, spiritual as well as temporal, his agency is superstition, and he brutalises, and excites the peasantry to render them more effec-

tually, and more willingly, his instruments. The man who carries the keys of heaven and of hell for the Lord and the keys of purgatory on his own account, always opens and shuts the door for a consideration. The priest despises the radical, though he has joined him as a necessary agent, in keeping up the disorganizing and destructive excitement that prevails : in order that he may lead the peasant to the warfare that would erect the papal edifice on the ruins of the protestant church.

The priest and the radical, though really adverse to each other's ultimate views, concur in hostility to the connection with England,—in hatred to its church—and in the desire to overturn all the protestant institutions of the country. They both know, that these objects can alone be obtained through the agency of an ignorant peasantry ; who are for this reason excited to hatred against England and protestantism, and also against all the respectable classes of society, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. In this their union for evil purposes, there is no real cordiality, they fully understand each other. The priests measure the radical as accurately as he takes measure of them, they are to each other "Hypocrites without deceiving," and should any temporary alienation ensue, they might re-enact the scene of Peachum and Lockit, and exclaim "brother, brother, we are both in the wrong."

Previously to the passing of the relief bill, there was a strong political feeling pervading every part of the country, and a fixed and general determination on the part of the Roman Catholics, to assert their natural rights, and to shake off the pressure of that impolitic and unjust code of laws—which bound down

alike the peer and the peasant. The passing of that wise measure has now left them no real cause of political discontent, that presses on them, as Roman Catholics : and those, who yet linger in the camp of the radical party, should consider, that the causes which first led them to assemble, have ceased,—and that new views of civil and religious policy have dawned on its radical and priestly leaders ; it is now no longer a contest for the privileges of the constitution, but for the constitution itself,—it is no longer whether we shall enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty—but whether we shall be subjected to the temporal and spiritual bondage of the priest. The only question now at issue is, whether we shall be allowed to remain in peaceful security under a permanent and orderly government, or be at the mercy of a lawless populace, the ready instruments of every unprincipled agitator, and the superstitious slaves of the most pernicious priesthood, that ever enlisted superstition in their aid to effect the intellectual, moral and spiritual degradation of man.

It must be evident to every one, more especially since the infliction on the country of our present chief governor, that new views of civil and religious policy now animate the actors that occupy the political arena, and that they now contend for objects which they had not hitherto avowed. It is true their declamations are similar, but their words have acquired a new and an unusual signification. Liberty in our modern vocabulary—means radicalism—the legitimate power of the law justly administered, now signifies the power of a lawless mob, and the undisturbed organization of revolutionary societies. The liberal protestant of the old school has already become obsolete ; to be now entitled to

that appellation he must be the servile follower of the demagogue, and the subservient tool of the priest: Religious toleration in our new political dictionary, means the spoliation and subversion of the Protestant church, and the ascendancy of the Church of Rome, with all its concomitant darkness and tyranny.

"Justice for Ireland" means the ascendancy of the mob: it is no longer to have the magistracy, the grand jury, the bench, and the parliament open to Roman Catholics; it is no longer the reformation of our code of laws; it is no longer the improvement of our roads, and harbours, or to encourage our mining, manufacturing, agricultural or commercial industry. Justice for Ireland now signifies none of these valuable objects—it is to degrade still lower the elective franchise, to render the very rabble the masters of the country,—who at the priestly mandate, will return base and servile representatives, be they Protestant or Roman, who must give their support to a government that permits plans to be matured, which are intended to obtain a domestic parliament; from which all but radicals and papists would be excluded, or to effect the still more sweeping measure of separating priest-ridden Ireland from Protestant England.

This is the true signification of justice for Ireland, and this is Mr. O'Connell's precious panacea for healing the wounds of the country, and restoring to it the blessings of wealth and tranquillity.

Whatever may be the ultimate effects of the reform bill in England, in Ireland it has proved most disastrous, and the extension of the elective franchise to the extreme degree it has obtained here, has not only destroyed the befitting balance of power in this coun-

try, sunk property and intelligence, far below their due level, but it has given birth to a new system of political opinions, and has also called into activity a new class of politicians.—It has returned to parliament men, who never even in their dreams of ambition, would have fancied such an elevation for themselves; and it has produced a systematic and an universal co-operation between the priests and the radical leaders, to govern the country by the agency of peasant voters.—Every individual therefore who is not altogether regardless of the tranquillity of the country, and who is not prepared to surrender its government to mob and priestly sway must now look forward with the utmost anxiety and apprehension, to the result of this new system of policy,—advocated by this new class of legislators.

## CHAPTER I.

### IRELAND AS IT IS UNDER LORD MULGRAVE.

The revolutionary opinions now so prevalent in Ireland, and the agitation which has been so assiduously kept up to carry them into operation, are chiefly attributable to the compromising policy of the whig government. It is true that the seeds of them were long since sown, but Lord Mulgrave's government has, in a most eminent degree, caused them to bloom and blossom forth in full and rank exuberance. Let us now examine how far the practical results of his administration have atoned for the disorganizing and dangerous views of radical and priestly legislation, which his policy has, in so eminent a degree called into life and activity, and let us see how far it has contributed to tranquillize Ireland, and to consolidate the union between the countries, by rendering the people happy, obedient to the law and attached to England, and its unparallaled constitution.

It was, some time back, the fashion of the radical press, to boast of the tranquillity which Lord Mulgrave's government had effected in Ireland; but the daily accounts that come up from the country, of outrage and of murder, have rendered the Mulgrave tranquillity a scoff, and a by-word of derision. At no

period within the recollection of the writer, have revolutionary principles been so prevalent, and so openly avowed; at no period was hostility to England so sedulously inculcated; and at no period did the country exhibit so frightful an aspect of disorganization, of lawlessness, and of crime. When, therefore, we examine the boasted tranquillity, effected by Lord Mulgrave we shall find that he has not only rendered the country far more turbulent than it was before, but that turbulence has even assumed a far more formidable character. There may have been times of greater actual crime, the prisons may have been more crowded, and the criminal calendar more loaded, but there never was a period of such systematic intimidation, and of crime. Opposition to the law not only prevails throughout the country, but that opposition is regularly organized into a system, a fact even admitted by himself.

Every effort is made, on the part of the government, to conceal the great extent of the enormities actually committed; and Mr. O'Connell and the priests, now that the castle seems to be under their dominion, endeavour to preserve the semblance of a hollow and treacherous tranquillity, to hold the peasant as the slip holds the blood-hound, till it is time to loose him at his prey—but their efforts are in vain, the excitement which both parties feel it essential to keep up, for the attainment of their respective objects, defies even the semblance of tranquillity; and the frightful scenes of outrage and of murder, with which the press daily teems, are as the showers of ashes from the crater which proclaims the fire that rages within, and which if providence prevent not, may herald the overwhelming eruption that is to follow.

Even in the very capital of the kingdom, murder has been committed in the public streets and in the open day—houses are broken into before night-fall, their furniture smashed to pieces, and their inmates brutally assaulted. The operative dictates the law to his employer, and a combined and formidable system of intimidation is the present order of things; both in the city and in the country. If a tradesman works below a certain price—if the master should employ a workman whom the combiners do not sanction, violence, perhaps murder, is the result; the master is controlled and intimidated by those to whom he gives bread, and the operative is not allowed to follow his occupation, according to his own estimate of the payment he should receive—he is compelled to be idle, unless he can exact the amount of wages which the combiners have laid down. This species of combination, and intimidation, is, at the present time, infinitely more alarming, and more dangerous than ever—being as it is, connected with the general system of revolutionary movement, that is so actively kept up for ulterior purposes. It is no longer, as formerly, a combination of workmen to extort higher wages, but it is a combination connected with revolutionary principles and objects.

It seems now the policy of the agitator, seconded by the priest, in accordance with some new political arrangements of their own, to put down the combination amongst the tradesmen, that was at a former period pre-eminently excited and encouraged by Mr. O'Connell himself, and which he may again excite, under a less subservient government.—It is on the operation of the law that we should rely for the suppression of illegal associations. If the principle be once admitted, that



the law is to sleep, and that tranquillity is to be preserved by priests, and radical leaders, we then constitute these men the masters of the country; besides, it must be suspected, and it will soon be evident, that their assistance has been obtained by some degrading policy of the government, which will give them increased power, and render them more formidable disturbers, when it suits their policy.

The country never was in so deplorable a condition, as it is now, ribbon societies are more general, and more regularly organized, and violence, intimidation and murder, prevail in every part of the country.—The landlord lives in fear, and in danger, the peasant is his master; he dictates to him the steward he is to employ, the labourer he is to hire, the rent he is to charge for his land, and the tenant that is to occupy it; should any of these demands be refused, the harvest is not gathered in, or it is trampled down and destroyed; the cattle are houghed, and the haggard, the barn, perhaps the dwelling-house itself, is consumed. If a disorderly servant be dismissed, if an insolvent tenant be made to give place to another, if the landlord should look for a more advantageous letting of his ground, threats of violence and assassination are proclaimed in the most public manner, written notices are posted up, public rumour echoes the threat, and the victim selected for destruction is either publicly murdered in the open day, or his house is attacked at night, and himself, and generally his whole family, brutally beaten or butchered.

The very landlord himself has been murdered in his own field in the noon-day, in the midst of his workmen, and evidently with their privity and concurrence,

by a ferocious band of ruffians brought from a distance, and regularly organized for the work of blood.

The election of the members of parliament is no longer free ; and the legitimate influence of the landed proprietors, and of the resident gentry, has ceased. Mr. O'Connell names the candidate, and the peasant, in obedience to the priestly mandate, returns him. The wretched peasant himself, frequently in opposition to his wishes, and always to his interests, is compelled, by the priest, to vote against his landlord. The priest tells him he is to vote for his God, and for his religion, that it would be sinful to vote otherwise, and if he hesitates—he threatens not to absolve him. The ignorant peasant being led to believe in the monstrous doctrine that the priest's assistance is essential to his salvation, and that he has no prospect of heaven without his absolution—the Almighty being merely the passive and obedient instrument of the priest.

Perjury and intimidation preside over the elections ; the hustings are surrounded by a lawless and ferocious rabble ; they infest and impede its approaches ; and the candidate who bids the highest in the mart of sedition, and bows lowest to the priest, is sure to be returned. One of their prelates, in the overflowing of his overweening arrogance, has boasted that they could return a cow-boy for any county in Ireland. Woe to the Roman Catholic, whatever his rank or station may be, who dares to vote in opposition to the priestly mandate ; the secret whisper is sent forth, or the terrors of the church are openly arrayed against him ; he is denounced from the altar, called turn-coat, renegade and apostate, and an enemy to his church and to his holy religion. His neighbours avoid him in fear ; his life and

property become insecure; every effort is made to injure him in all his pursuits; he walks about a marked man: the withering curse of the priest is on his head.\*

A system of the most formidable and frightful intimidation universally prevails, and crimes of the deepest dye are publicly committed with impunity; property is destroyed; the peaceful are assailed, and dreadfully beaten; the crime of murder is of more than daily occurrence.

Those who witness scenes of incendiarism, of plunder, and of blood, dare not give evidence; the jury-man dreads the consequences of his verdict; those who suffer are afraid to prosecute, through dread of being subjected to a still greater calamity; the witness prevaricates in his evidence, he is terrified into perjury, and the priest absolves him. Perjury in the present state of Ireland, amongst the lower classes, is, in such instances, scarcely, if at all, considered a crime; it is in the cause of the church, and the end justifies the means.

The country gentleman dares not avow or act on his opinion, he must at least be passive, or abandon his residence; he is no longer a free agent; he has neither freedom of action, nor of opinion. Intimidation collects the O'Connell tribute; it compels the Protestant to court the protection of the priest, by giving him money, bestowing land, and subscribing to build his chapel; and thus to contribute to the support of a superstition, which, if a believing Christian, he must hold in abhorrence, and even as a mere politician, he must regard with dread and apprehension.

The landlord does not receive his rent, nor the

\* "The curse of the priest on you" is a frequent expression among the Irish peasantry.

minister his tithe, they go to swell the contributions which Mr. O'Connell levies off the country, to reward him for mischievously disturbing it; and to the priest, as his instigator and co-partner in the work. No adequate means are employed by the government to repress these crying evils; the parties who excite them being those who return the members to parliament that sustain Lord Mulgrave in office. The influence of superstition, and of political excitement, paralyzes the power of the law, and force and fear are now the authorities in Ireland.

The jails are thrown open, and the convicted criminal is again let loose on society. The police do not afford adequate protection; it has even been proposed to let them out only on hire; and the novel doctrine has been put forward, that the protection of the life and property of the subject is no longer a government duty or concern, but a matter of money, a pecuniary compensation for a perhaps faithless protection.

The police constable refuses, and with impunity also, obedience to his commanding officer, and grossly insults the magistracy; the officer who endeavours to prevent disturbance, and personally tries to arrest the criminal, when those under him afford no assistance, is flippantly and unbecomingly reprimanded for over zeal in the discharge of his duty. The remonstrances of a loyal, resident, and most respectable magistracy, are disregarded, in Carlow, Limerick, and elsewhere; an open investigation is refused to their request, and the matter complained of is referred to a secret inquisition.

When the new police are in full operation, selected and officered as there is every reason to believe they will be, by Mr. O'Connell and the priests; and when

the magistracy shall be deprived of its honourable and loyal members, and their places filled up by radical influence, we may then look forward with confidence to the maintenance of public tranquillity : the landlord will then be enabled effectually to collect his rent, and the minister his tithe ; mob disturbance in favour of popish and radical candidates, will be effectually repressed, and Protestants may avow their principles, and sleep with open doors, in confidence and in safety.

The policy of the government seems to be, not to govern with a liberal and impartial spirit, but to be factious and exclusive—servile to the priest, and revolutionary radical—hostile to the Protestant loyalist and his church.

The maintenance of the Protestant religion is now presumed to be a matter of indifference. It is deemed illiberal, and even some Protestants have pronounced it *fanatical*, to endeavour to open the eyes of the people to the sacred light of the gospel,—and some in the extreme spirit of miscalled and mistaken liberality, have gone so far as to declare, that it is a most unbecoming and reprehensible aggression, against the priests, to endeavour, even by religious instruction, to withdraw the people from the darkness of their superstition.

Romanism is wonderfully grown into favour, its priests are now to be an accredited body, having as such, dominion and sway in the land ; they are to be assisted in coercing the people, and withholding from them the Bible. Instead of remaining in their chapels, and confining themselves to their religious duties ; these clerical gentlemen now assume the first places at dinners and public assemblies, strut about as public function-

aries, embellish the levee with their presence, and carry their courtly accomplishments to the very table of the viceroy.

Wonderful discoveries have of late years been made in the science of government. The sagacity of our present rulers has found out, that peasants are the wisest and purest class of electors; that the country should be surrendered up to the dominion of priests and radicals; that Romanism has ceased to be a dark, gross and idolatrous superstition, that its priests are the meek, holy, legitimate, and inspired successors of the apostles, and that they hold the keys to shut or open at pleasure the gates of heaven or of hell, just as people confess to them, and receive their valuable absolutions. But above all, the fatal discovery has been made—that religious instruction is not a concern of the state; that to educate the youthful mind in gospel principles is a matter of indifference; that having achieved the glorious victory of the reformation, we should throw away its fruits and again surrender the country to the dark guidance of the priests of the church, from which, after a long and arduous struggle, we are now happily emancipated; that we should establish schools to propagate and perpetuate the doctrines of Romanism; that the youth of the country should be surrendered up to the enlightened care of these blind guides, lest even one solitary ray of light should enter into their minds; and that the priests should be allowed in opposition alike to the precepts of Christ and his apostles, to close the sacred volume, and teach the people that it is dangerous to read that book which the apostles were inspired to write for their instruction.

The administration of the Duke of Wellington and

Sir Robert Peel bestowed on the Roman Catholics their full share of civil and religious liberty, but wisely resting there, it gave no ascendancy to their priests. It also maintained the Protestant institutions of the country, and above all it maintained the established church—the great stay of social order, and of a rational and not a fanatical christianity. Now the church is openly assailed, and every effort is being made to effect its destruction, and that too by the very party to which Lord Mulgrave has so unfortunately for his own fame, and the security of the country, subjected himself.

Doubtless this subserviency obtained for the support of his government a numerical superiority of Irish members in parliament, and enables him a little longer to enjoy the patronage and emoluments of office, and it is now evident, though hitherto disavowed, that Lord Mulgrave has fully identified himself with the radical leader.

The late elections have unequivocally revealed the existence of the compact—on that occasion, government threw off the mask altogether, and made common cause with those who declaim against England, and so fearfully agitate the country. Every possible effort was made to obtain the return of the radical candidates, and a species of influence, never hitherto employed, to the same extent, or with the same unblushing recklessness, was employed by it to defeat the loyal protestant candidates, and to return to parliament the servile tools of Mr. O'Connell and the priests, and this in opposition to the real wishes of all the orderly portion of the community.

It is notorious that in the late election for Dublin,

neither Mr. O'Connell nor his nominee, would have had the least chance of even the temporary success which they have obtained, were it not for the influence of the castle. It was painful to see gentlemen compelled either to leave their families without support, and relinquish situations which they had so long, and so honourably filled : or vote in favour of those, to whose political and religious sentiments, they were, on principle, so strongly opposed. So low did the government descend, and so active were they in their exertions to obtain the return of Mr. O'Connell to parliament : that even the very tradesmen were tampered with, and some who had the honesty to be true to their principles, and to vote according to the dictates of their consciences, were ordered to send in their accounts.

Here then is a monstrous coalition placed in full relief before the public eye. The representative of a protestant crown, not preserving a dignified neutrality, more particularly in an interesting and peculiar crisis, where it should have been his policy to ascertain the true state of public opinion in Ireland, and have left the elections free for that purpose. He at once co-operates with the radical party, against the protestants, and against the real sentiments of the better classes of the Roman Catholics, and gives all the aid of the government to obtain the return of popish and radical members to parliament. It is to Lord Mulgrave that the English nation is indebted for the ascendancy of revolutionary opinions in Ireland ; it is also on the professors of these opinions, that the gracious smiles of his countenance are bestowed, and it is to the same influence that England is indebted for that unusual species



of members that now grace and embellish the walls of the House of Commons.

It is true the party he has joined, whose power he has been so instrumental in upholding, and whose opinions he has thereby been so influential in disseminating and sanctioning—may sustain him a short time longer in office—but it will be alone on the condition of his subserviency; the parties that now support him, must as a matter of course sway him in return; he must place in their hands the patronage of the castle, and follow the line of policy they may think proper to dictate to him,—obey all their mandates,—send a rude and saucy letter of disapproval at their bidding; intrude even on the privacy of a private dinner, and descend from his vice-regal dignity to comment on a toast. An honourable and loyal protestant magistrate, of high rank and estimation, is dismissed from the commission of the peace, because at a dinner with his friends, he gave a toast commemorative of a victory gained by protestants over a band of popish miscreants, who came with arms in their hands for the work of blood. The man who openly avows hostility to England and her church,—whose every speech is alienating the minds of the people from the connection, and exciting them to sedition,—who never opens his mouth but to vituperate the great and the noble in the land, and this not at a limited and selected dinner party, but at public meetings, at trades' unions, at aggregate and revolutionary assemblies, but also in set and deliberate letters, published in the newspapers, to be circulated through the country. This very man by whom more than all others, Ireland has been reduced to its present turbulent, revolutionary and lawless

condition; whose fearful agitation has caused the greater part of the crimes that have been committed, and the innocent blood that has been shed; there is every reason to believe is the master of the viceroy; that it is he who directs into what channels, the stream of patronage is to flow; that he appoints to the police, to the magistracy, and even to the bench; and that he not alone sways the patronage of the castle, but its policy also. In short the supporters of Lord Mulgrave are not the friends of England, nor the clergymen of its church; the only party in the country by which he is sustained are political priests and revolutionists.

In a country like Ireland, where it is notorious that all the lower classes of Roman Catholics are disaffected, and must ever continue so, as long as their priests hold them in bondage; where it is notorious that these priests, or apostles as they designate themselves, are to a man opposed to England and to its religion: where an active and disloyal faction are employing every means in their power to sow the seeds of revolution; our Protestant Viceroy co-operates with this very party in opposition to the loyal and respectable protestant portion of the community—dismisses Colonel Verner from the magistracy, and returns to parliament Mr. O'Connell.\*

\* Nothing can shew in a stronger point of view the degrading subserviency to which Lord Mulgrave was obliged to submit, than his rude and arrogant communications to the Royal Dublin Society, over which he had no species of control whatsoever, because that in the exercise of the privileges entrusted to it by its charter, it did not choose to enroll amongst its members, a Romish priest, who had identified his church with the radical party in Ireland, and in his "apostolic" character, sanctioned the system of agitation pursued by Mr. O'Connell, and even subscribed money to reward him for

In return for all this personal and political subserviency, these new-supporters of the castle promise him to tranquillize the country ; but this tranquillity is not to be the tranquillity of the law—but the tranquillity of compact; a regular debtor and creditor account between vice-regal subserviency on the one part, and radical tranquillity on the other.

Revolutionary societies are to be organized, dissolved, or re-constructed ; the question of repeal is to be revived, or to be let slumber, public meetings of the lowest and most fearful description are to be assembled, or we shall be allowed to remain in tranquillity—precisely as the conduct of the Viceroy conciliates or displeases Mr. O'Connell.

disturbing the country, and who also exhibited the grossest and most disgusting shuffling, respecting an infamous work of theology, in which the Maynooth priests are educated. In this book principles subversive of all political and moral obligations are laid down, and a system is put before us in minute and disgusting detail, which enables any filthy, sensual or perhaps half drunken priest, *ad libitum*, to extort in the confessional, from the lips of modesty, details, which a delicate female would even shrink from communicating to her mother.

## CHAPTER II.

### LORD MULGRAVE.

HAVING thus far considered the revolutionary views which Whig policy has given birth to in Ireland, and the TRANQUILLITY which has resulted from Lord Mulgrave's happy government: we shall now proceed more particularly to review the leading features of his Lordship's administration, and the consequences that are likely to result therefrom, should it fatally for the country, be allowed to continue.

Never did a Lord Lieutenant ascend the vice-regal throne of this kingdom with so much power to do good; never did a public man turn the power, in such full and unmeasured confidence entrusted to him, more to the purposes of evil.

The government of his immediate predecessors was essentially liberal and conciliatory to the Roman Catholics. The various opposition which Lords Wellesley and Anglesea experienced here, and the very limited power with which they were entrusted from the other side, placed them in a peculiar state of embarrassment: Sir Robert Peel even declared in the House of Commons, that Lord Wellesley was not answerable for the policy of his administration, but that it was dictated to him, by those who sent him over.

In Ireland all their measures were opposed by a regularly organised and most influential party, who had hitherto reigned supreme, enjoying the exclusive possession of all the places of emolument and of power under the government. The magistracy—the bench—the bar—the church, in short all our civil and religious institutions, concurred in thwarting every measure of their government. The English cabinet was not decided, even when emancipation was granted; Tory policy prevailed as before, and the emancipation for all practical purposes was merely nominal. When the Whigs came into power, they followed that treacherous and vacillating policy, by which as a party they have always been distinguished; the same policy continued to rule Ireland, and the viceroy was little more than a cypher.

Judging from the career which unfortunately for our tranquillity and security, he has been permitted to run, we are justified in inferring that Lord Mulgrave came over here with full power to carry the enactments of the relief bill into practical operation,\*

\* Under whatever point of view we may consider the relief bill, there can be only one opinion respecting the mode in which it was carried, and though, according to the opinion of the writer, the measure abstractedly considered was a wise one, as being calculated to separate the more intelligent part of the Roman Catholic laity from the church of Rome—still the mode in which it was carried—the avowal that it was conceded to turbulence—the total disregard of securities for the Protestant church—the recklessness with which it was hurried through the house, without any one efficient enactment to keep down the Roman priesthood, coupled with the total and sudden abandonment of former principles, all these considerations are calculated to leave on the mind of every Protestant no very favourable

and to administer equal and impartial justice to every sect, and to every political party in the country. It would appear that he had full power from the other side, and he had no party to thwart him here. He could at pleasure have dismissed his chamberlain, without the humiliation of being constrained to pension him: and the present Lord Chancellor did not maintain that high and uncompromising, political consistency, that distinguished the conduct of Lord Manners.

The Marquis Wellesley, and Lord Anglesea may be considered in the light of pioneers, who had cleared the way before him; they had borne the brunt of the battle, and left him an open field in which imperishable laurels might have been acquired. The tory party

able impression, either of the wisdom or consistency of the two principal actors in the scene, or of their motives. Judging from their subsequent conduct, it would appear they had even no statesman-like views of national conciliation and subsequent beneficial results—but that they were afraid to face the danger which they had weakly imagined—a danger more in fancy than in reality. The Roman Catholics as a body would not have dared to hazard a civil war; besides the bill did not effect its professed objects of conciliation, and no effort was made to separate the orderly portion of the Roman Catholics from those who carried on the system of agitation, and the country remained precisely in the same condition as before it was granted.

Never was there effected by any statesman so sweeping a subversion of former policy, without any one concomitant or necessary check, to meet the danger and difficulties that would naturally be expected to result—and which unfortunately have resulted. Our present viceroy has pursued a still more dangerous course, prostrating his government before disloyal priests and rebellious radicals, and ruling the country by their agency.

once so dominant in Ireland was powerless—the orange party had dissolved their society; they had no longer the arm of the government to sustain them, and the population of the country was against them. So completely were they depressed, that when Lord Mulgrave came over, they had ostensibly ceased to be a party, and they must have been themselves convinced, that as such, they never could resume their former position;—the hitherto exclusive tory, had in fact already merged into the more liberal conservative.

The policy of the English cabinet was most favourable to Ireland, and there was no beneficial measure of amelioration that might not have been obtained for it. No Lord Lieutenant had ever such a force of moral influence, political power, and popular support as Lord Mulgrave was invested with;—never had a man in his situation so fine a career of national utility before him. It seemed as if every moral and political force combined to open a field for him where every species of political glory might be won. The spirit of the age also was with him, and had he held the reins of the government with common discretion, he might have diffused peace, order, and satisfaction through the country, and he could also have brought to his side all the well regulated and sound portion of society, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. To him was entrusted the task of reconstructing the social edifice in Ireland, and he could have rallied round him all the respectable portion of the two parties that divided it, and conciliated the Roman Catholics to his government without incurring the hostility of the more exclusive Protestants. UNDER A JUDICIOUS AND FIRM

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW, AGITATION WOULD HAVE BEEN EXTINGUISHED; and thus new strength would thereby have been added to the chain, that happily for Ireland yet encircles the countries.

On his arrival here, Ireland was essentially divided into three parties—the tory and exclusive party on the one side, and the Roman Catholics and their Protestant friends on the other. The third party, headed by Mr. O'Connell, too insignificant of themselves to deserve notice, were enabled to assume a formidable position from the violent and revolutionary spirit which the Roman priests had excited amongst the lower classes, but more immediately amongst the peasantry. It was altogether by priestly influence that O'Connell was able to bring this class into action, and he owed that power to the priest, who aided by the terrors of his church, was alone able to excite the peasant against his landlord, and against the law.

All the more respectable classes of the Roman Catholics were fully satisfied with the boon which they had obtained; they were tired of agitation, and unfavourable to radicalism, they wished to turn their swords into ploughshares, and to enjoy in quiet and in amity with their Protestant fellow-countrymen the possession of the rights they had obtained.—Not so with Mr. O'Connell and his supporters the priests. He sought personal aggrandizement, which he could only obtain by first becoming formidable as an agitator—and then making his terms with government, and receiving a price to suspend his agitation. The priests were alone in earnest, they had the one object in view, the aggrandizement of their own church and the subversion of the Protestant one; and in the full confidence that Mr. O'Connell



concurrent with them in these views, and would lend them his aid in their accomplishment; they collected for him the rent, swelled the gale of his popularity, and gave efficiency to his agitation. The excitation of an ignorant and superstitious peasantry against Protestant England and her heretical church, as they always call it, being the only means by which they could hope to effect their objects—agitation in violence of all their most solemn promises went on as before.—The party hitherto opposed to the Roman Catholics, seeing the use they now made of the power they had acquired, naturally preserved their former position of hostility, and such Protestants as would otherwise have acquiesced in the measure of the relief bill, were necessarily forced by the violence of the radical party on the one hand, and the avowed objects of the priests on the other, to use every effort to counteract them, and if possible to re-enact the penal code, from a firm conviction that it was essential to their own security, and to the preservation of the church and constitution.

This demonstration of the tory party kept many of the respectable portion of the Roman Catholics and some of their Protestant friends in the radical camp; they dreaded the intolerance of a tory government, and the renewal of restrictive laws; hence action and reaction, as the violent partizans of both sides kept up the ene of civil discord.

The Viceroy had, in a great measure, the control of both these parties. As soon as the Roman Catholic gentry were convinced, that strict and impartial justice would be rendered to them, and that they would have their full consideration with the government, and their share in the distribution of places of trust, of power

and emolument, they would at once have left the radical and priestly faction; and the liberal Protestants, except, perhaps, those who speculated on elections, must necessarily have followed their example.

The agitators and priests being thereby deprived of the co-operation, which alone gave a moral sanction to their proceedings, would be easily subdued and brought under the wholesome dominion of the law; and if any insurrectionary movement on the part of the peasantry should occur, and that it could be traced to those who are secretly exciting them to disloyalty; a few salutary legal examples made of THEIR REVERENCES would have a most wonderful influence in effecting tranquillity.

It was *with the greatest difficulty* agitation was kept up before Lord Mulgrave came over—it *was actually forced on the people*; every effort was strained by Mr. O'Connell to sustain it, evidently for selfish purposes—and careless of the frightful results it was every day producing. Even now, though it flourishes under the happy auspices of his Excellency, the Roman Catholic gentry are, to a man, opposed to the radical leaders and their measures, and wait only for an opportunity to withdraw from them without imputation.

Lord Mulgrave might not alone have rallied round his government all the respectable portion of the liberal Protestant and Roman Catholic community; but he might also have obtained the support of those who, from apprehension of popish power, were hitherto too exclusive, but whose political views had lately undergone a salutary change, who are even now, as they have always been, the best friends of the connection. Had he acted with sound discretion and

engaged their confidence, in convincing them that he would uphold the Constitution in Church and State, and preserve, inviolate, all the Protestant institutions of the country—make the law respected, and govern the country in the spirit of a Protestant Statesman—instead of identifying his government with the very lowest of the popish radicals and the priests, as he unfortunately has done—he would have conciliated them to the new order of things, have extinguished party feeling—reconciled to his government all the orderly portion of society—upheld the protestant church, and consolidated the connexion.

I do not now speak of the more violent classes of orangemen, nor of those who advocated those principles for the sake of a selfish and exclusive monopoly, but I speak of the noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland who had hitherto opposed emancipation from justifiable and honourable feelings alone, and who, from a well-grounded apprehension that an ill use would be made of the power which was sought for, and who saw in the agitation still kept up, a regularly concerted and organized effort to re-establish the dominion of the Church of Rome and its intolerant priesthood.—In rank, property, and influence, and in the honourable and unyielding integrity of their political conduct, and, indeed, in all the requisites that confer estimation in society, the aristocracy of that body, (for I include all those who coincided in their opinions, though they did not actually belong to the orange association as such,) stand forth pre-eminently as occupying the first station in the country. They were loyal in the worst of times, and always stood by the constitution and the church, which but for them would have been long

since overturned—and it is on them alone that England must even now depend for the integrity of the empire.

What estimate but the very lowest can be formed of the intellect of the man that disgusted such a party as this, and alienated them from his government, when it was in his power to have conciliated them to the new and more liberal system of policy? Instead of doing this, he drove them off one by one from the Castle, and then, in obedience to his priestly and radical masters, he even pursued them in a spirit of hostility.

When in an evil hour the whigs called the radicals to their aid to enable them to overturn the tory government and passed a reform bill, which, in Ireland, has driven all the respectable classes of society from their true position—causing not an equalization, but a transfer of power, it was, in an eminent degree, incumbent on them to have sent over a statesman, qualified to hold the reins of government in the peculiar and dangerous position, in which this country was thus placed, by the conjoint operation of the relief and the reform bill—unfortunately for us they sent over one totally unfit to be entrusted with them. He might preside, with effect, over the masque or the revel; and in the drawing-room, he would, doubtless, evince all the accomplishments becoming his high station, but we require other and higher qualifications in the individual who is to rule the destinies of such a country as this.\*

\*Lord Mulgrave has told the Dublin Society, (alluding to the annual grant from parliament of £5000 per annum,) that the continuance of that grant should depend solely on the society's utility in appropriating it. I respond to the sentiment. All institutions, and also all official men or hired servants of the state, are open to public scrutiny—and it is therefore free to me, or to any

Lord Mulgrave had not the sagacity to comprehend the true character of the parties he had to govern,

other individual, following the example so patriotically set by his Lordship—to tell him, receiving as he does so largely from the public purse, that a tithe of the pittance annually voted to the Royal Dublin Society would more than repay any services in the power of a man of his limited abilities to render to the state.

Some in a morbid and overfastidious sentiment of politeness, and others in the affectation of it, may condemn me for thus speaking of Lord Mulgrave. I speak only of the Lord Lieutenant. I am no respecter of persons; I estimate man by his moral worth alone, and public men by the value of their public services. The conventional usages of society no gentleman ever feels even disposed to violate; but the deference due to rank and station, and the subdued and courteous expression of opinion which characterize, in a more especial manner, the more elevated grades of society, do not impede the freedom of the press in its legitimate comments on men acting for the public, and receiving payment for their services. Above all, in the case of a Lord Lieutenant, everything appertaining to his official position demands and justifies observation. He holds a court, at which the daughters and wives of our nobility and gentry attend. The court gives not only the tone to fashion, but, unfortunately, often to morals and religion also. The religion, the morals—nay, the very demeanour of a Lord Lieutenant, in a peculiar degree, call for observation. A great revolution in Christian and, consequently, in moral feeling has, more especially within the last few years, been effected in the people of this country. The Buckinghams and Rochesters of former days have given place to a better standard of what truly constitutes the gentleman. Their frivolous and immoral pursuits would now only be viewed with reprehension.

A new order of opinion has arisen in Ireland, and is happily extending its dominion. Public men are beginning to be estimated by a new standard—that standard is the book which the priests endeavour to keep from the people, and which the new Board of Education has banished from our schools, as displeasing to these apostles. By that standard also, the Castle is to be estimated, not in the tone of the Puritans, in the days of Cromwell, but in the spirit of a sound, rational, and moral Christianity.

nor had he the capacity to work the country out of the unnatural position in which it was placed. He mistook the noisy uproar of a violent, though insignificant party, for the sober and deliberate voice of the nation. He did not wait to be informed that there is no predilection for agitation or radicalism here, either amongst the Protestants or respectable Roman Catholics—both are, in principle and in taste, equally adverse to it. Mr. O'Connell is as little popular with the aristocracy of his own religion, as he is with the Protestants. Even the bishops of his own church kept aloof from him—and though secretly favourable to the agitation he was keeping up, as tending to promote their own peculiar objects—they did not deem it prudent openly to identify themselves with the agitator—their policy, then, was to be taken into the pay of the government, and to be employed as a species of clerical police. This would necessarily have invested them with great power and influence, and would have enabled them in an eminent degree, gradually to extend the dominion of their church.

The administration of Lord Mulgrave has animated their ambition to new and more aspiring objects—they now seek to rule the country on their own account. Dr. Murray, who was previously unfavourable to the O'Connell tribute, and was opposed to its collection in his chapel, even during the agitating government of Lord Anglesea, in obedience to the policy of our present English and Protestant Viceroy, has now given in his adhesion to the mercenary demagogue, and fully identified himself with him, putting forward for the first time, a letter of apostolic authority, with a ✕ prefixed to his signature, in his behalf.

I shall not stop to impute, or to investigate motives. If the country is to be convulsed and its constitution subverted, it is immaterial whether it be done by the imbecility or by the corrupt and selfish policy of those who govern. I will not say Lord Mulgrave had not the virtue to take his proper position. I would rather imagine he had not the intellect either to see it, or to occupy it. He had not the sagacity to comprehend the influence of orderly opinion—nor the law by which it is regulated. He did not consider that though for a while it may seem to slumber, or even to be adverse, that it will in the end assert its influence, and that the rational portion of the public mind, however it may seem to wander, will in the end, come under its dominion, like those planets which, even in their perturbations, evince the power by which they are controlled. He knew not that the stream of democracy, though noisy and turbulent, was neither deep nor permanent, and without waiting for its subsidence, left the vantage ground on which he stood, and became the tool of those whom a wiser governor would have constrained. He saw Mr. O'Connell in the light of a powerful political partizan, who by the agency of his priestly masters, was enabled to return a certain number of Roman Catholic and time-serving Protestant members to Parliament; and having neither the sagacity nor the patience to comprehend, or to trace the source of the bad power which this mischievous and selfish disturber possessed, or taking proper measures to counteract it; he, in the true spirit of a melodramatic hero of romance, brushed away right and left the respectable portion of the nation, and threw himself head foremost into the arms of Mr. O'Connell.

By this most rash and unadvisable act, he has disgusted the Protestant noblemen and gentry of the country; and, instead of restraining and circumventing the bad and dangerous power of the priests and the agitators, he has surrendered himself to them, bound hand and foot, and has thus become the wretched tool of the very worst and most dangerous faction by which a country could be governed. He has amalgamated his government with a party which all the orderly portion of society hold in distaste and aversion—taken them under his especial protection—identified his policy with theirs—thus giving a new spring to radicalism, rebellion and popery, in a country which he was sent over to govern for a Protestant crown. He now employs all the resources of the castle in the support of this faction, and lends all the aid of his government to secure the return of radical members to parliament—patronage, promise, intimidation, dismissal from office, are all employed to sustain them.—So low has he reduced himself, that he has now, in fact, no other tenure by which to retain office but their support; and, in addition to this, his insane policy, for it deserves no other epithet—has actually forced back into the radical camp those respectable individuals who were only waiting for a becoming opportunity to withdraw from it altogether. Lord Mulgrave and Mr. O'Connell may now be considered the Castor and Pollux of our political constellation—and only it would not be astronomically speaking correct, I would say that they revolve round each other in one common orbit, and round one common centre—and that centre is the priest.

The result of this inauspicious and unnatural union is



already apparent in the seditious spirit that is carefully and sedulously kept up in the country. It is by that party, who, alone cordially support Lord Mulgrave, this spirit is manifested—it is by his supporters alone that the union of the countries is denounced, and the integrity of the empire threatened.

“ Thus bad begins and worse remains behind.”

Under his administration revolutionary principles flourish to an extent hitherto unknown; and those principles have been openly avowed and circulated through the kingdom, unchecked and unpunished, rendering the country one unvarying scene of turbulence and opposition to the laws, in which neither life nor property is secure.

The Established Church totters to its foundation, and Popery threatens to occupy its place. The Protestants are depressed, and priests and radicals dominate in Ireland, and there is every reason to believe that they rule the councils of the government. The strong holds of the country are passing into the hands of the disloyal; the press that supports the government disseminates sedition; a radical and popish magistracy is succeeding to a Protestant one; instead of loyal yeomen to protect the country in case of an insurrection, we have now a police, in the appointment of which, the Romish priests are the most influential instruments. The ministers of the Established Church, a few expectants excepted,\* are opposed on every principle,

\* Whenever any unfortunate stray minister of the Established Church appears at the levee, it is usual with those about the castle to say, “ we have caught a parson.” Lord Mulgrave at one of those radical dinners which were got up for him, in his ramblings to court mob popularity—actually exclaimed with surprise, “ is

political as well as religious, to our Protestant viceroy. The popish priests universally regard him as their patron. In estimating the pretensions and the conduct of those who have experienced the patronage of the castle, we have no other alternative but to conclude that popish agitation is the passport to place.

Hostility to England is openly avowed by those who bask in the smiles of the representative of her fair monarchy, and measures are going forward unheeded by the government, which must lead to a separation between the countries, or to a rebellion.

That secret societies are formed by the peasantry, that oaths are administered for the accomplishment of present objects, and that revolutionary views and measures of spoliation are contemplated by them, no one who impartially considers their conduct, and reads the sad history of lawlessness and crime, presented to us in every daily publication, can fairly question. There is no peasantry poorer, none more dependent on their landlords than they are, none more desirous to possess a small quantity of land. But the Irish peasantry are also pre-eminently sagacious, and peculiarly shrewd and alive to their interests—no class of men know them better, or evince more cunning in their efforts to secure them; and yet no class of men have run so counter to their own interests as they have, in the decided spirit of hostility they have evinced, more especially of late, towards their landlords. They can have no obvious or immediate interest in the return of Mr. O'Connell, nor of his nominees; and those who know

there no minister of the Established Church present?" and he was reduced to the necessity of having grace said by one of our modern Popish Apostles.

how tenaciously they hold the money which they so laboriously earn, must be convinced that they expect some equivalent in return, when they subscribe their miserable pittance to the mean and dirty avarice of this political monster, who preys on their poverty, whilst he excites and betrays them.

It is well known to many, that they avow their expectations to each other, and even if they themselves had not disclosed their objects and their determinations, we may readily conjecture that they would not oppose their landlords as they now do, *were not some expectations of future benefit, studiously, though secretly instilled into their minds, by those whose interests it is to deceive them.* The peasant expects to be the proprietor of the tenement he now tills for another, and to pocket the tithe he now pays to the minister. He is told also, it is a good work, and one acceptable to God, to destroy the Established Church, and re-establish his holy religion.

It can be incontestibly proved, by a great variety of documents, that the disturbances amongst the peasantry are not the result of distress, but—that they are altogether of a political nature,—that they are caused by the system of agitation so industriously kept up by Mr. O'Connell and the priests,—and that the peasantry are fully convinced that Mr. O'Connell intends to head them in a civil war, for the ascendancy of popery and to effect a separation from England.

Major Warburton, an inspector of police and a gentleman of great experience, and unimpeachable integrity, gave the following evidence on oath before a committee of the House of Lords in 1825:

"The objects of the Ribbon conspiracy are to establish the Roman Catholic church—to extirpate protestantism, and to separate Ireland from England. The propagators of the ribbon system ~~swell~~ themselves of any local disturbances for the purpose of introducing their own principles; and it is invariably found, that where disturbances ~~are~~ of long continuance, they lose their ~~desultory~~ character, and are methodized into political organisation."

It may be said that Major Waburton belongs to the Tory party, and that his political principles may have influenced his opinions. This charge cannot be brought against the recorded opinions of Lord Wellesley—who was both a whig and a liberal, and who, as such, was strongly opposed by the tory and orange party in Ireland, whilst he was supported by the Roman Catholics. In his dispatches to the English government, when he was Lord Lieutenant here in April 1834—he says that there ~~was~~ established in every district in Ireland :

"A complete system of legislation, with the most prompt, vigorous, and severe executive power, ~~sworn~~, equipped and armed, for all the excesses of savage punishment."

He then goes on to say :—

"These disturbances have been in every instance excited and influenced, by the agitation of the combined prospects of the abolition of tithes, and the destruction of the union with Great Britain. I cannot employ words of sufficient strength to express my solicitude that his Majesty's government, should fix the deepest attention on the intimate connection between the system of agitation, and its inevitable consequences, the system of combination, leading to violence and outrage.—they are inseparably cause and effect—nor can I after the most attentive consideration, of the dreadful scenes that are passing under my view, separate one from the other, in that unbroken chain of indissoluble connection."

In 1834 Lord Grey proposed the revival of the coercion bill, and ~~was supported by Lord Mulgrave~~; giving

to the Lord Lieutenant power of suppressing public meetings. It is to be presumed that had Lord Durham been aware, that the contest in Ireland is not for civil liberty—but to overturn the Established church, and substitute the Roman church in its place, that he would not then have opposed the clauses in the bill, which gave the coercive power to the Lord Lieutenant. What new light has since that time opened on the mind of Lord Mulgrave, it is not my object to inquire.

There is another very strong testimony illustrative of the character of the illegal societies that are formed by the peasantry. It was given in evidence before a parliamentary committee in 1832, as being the copy of an oath of the whitefeet, sworn to at the Maryborough assizes in the same year.

“ 1. I solemnly swear to be loyal and true to this new ribbon act.

“ 2. I swear I will to the best of my power, cut down kings, queens, and princes, dukes, earls, lords, and all such with land jobbers and heresy.

“ 3. I swear I will never pity the moans or groans of the dying, from the cradle to the crutch, and that I will wade knee deep in orange blood.

“ 4. I swear I am to bear my right arm to be cut off, and thrown over my left shoulder, and nailed to the traples door of Armagh, before I will way lay, or betray, or go into court, to prosecute a brother, knowing him to be such.

“ 5. I swear I will go ten miles on foot, and fifteen miles on horseback, in five minutes warning.

“ 6. I swear I will give money to purchase and repair fire arms, ammunition and the like, and every other weapon that may be wanting.

“ 7. I swear I will never tell the man's name that made me, nor the man's name that stood by making me a ribbonman or white-foot, to any other under the canopy of heaven, not even to a priest, bishop, or any one in the church.

“ 8. I swear I will not stand to hear hell and confusion drank

to a ribbonman or whitefoot, without resisting the same, or quitting the company.

" 9. I swear I will never keep a robber's company, nor harbour him except for fire arms.

10. I swear I will not make foul freedom with a brother's wife or sister, knowing them to be such.

" 11. I swear I will not keep the second coat, or the second shilling, and a brother in want of relief, knowing him to be as such.

" 12. I swear I will not be present at the making of a ribbonman or whitefoot, without proper orders from our captain, in pursuance of this spiritual obligation, so help me God."

We shall next prove the objects of the peasant association by the testimony of the very individual, whose hellish system of agitation, and I cannot really give it a more appropriate epithet, has been the chief cause of the frightful scenes which have impoverished and disgraced our country. In a speech at the Trades Union in December 1837, Mr. O'Connell is thus reported to have expressed himself:

" There are two species of combination existing in this city. One which is open and avowed, which belongs to the trades or regular bodies—that species of combination has no connection whatsoever with the other kind. One of these combinations we call DEFENDERS, or welter combination—and that within the last few weeks has been stained with human blood. The other class of combinators, between whom and the trades I make my first great distinction, are those who call themselves DEFENDERS, northern unionists, Billy Smiths and Billy Welters. They have their regular organization, their watch words, while they change four times in the year, their officers and their lodges."

There is another very important document and from the highest authority to prove that the disturbances in Ireland, are not the result of distress, but of a regularly organised political system. So far from law-

lessness and murder being the result of distress, it is in the districts where the people are most comfortable, they are most prevalent. Chief Justice Bushe in a charge delivered in 1832, thus expresses himself:

"I cannot recollect one instance in the experience of so many years, (and perhaps it is a formidable view of our situation) in which a man has been charged with an insurrectionary offence, whose crime could be traced to want and poverty."

The late Doctor Doyle, a Roman Catholic bishop, in one of his pastoral letters, bears similar testimony. I shall only quote two more instances, to shew that Mr. O'Connell's agitation has been the great cause of these disturbances, and that the people have been led to think, by what means I shall not stop to inquire, that it is his intention, to head them, and to precipitate the country into a rebellion,—the Earl of Roden, a nobleman whose honorable political consistency, and whose valuable and unceasing efforts in the cause of his country cannot be too highly appreciated, has said, that the government was aware, from its own officers, that a part of the ribbon oath was—"TO BE READY TO TURN OUT TO AID MR. O'CONNELL IN OBTAINING JUSTICE FOR IRELAND."

I shall produce only one more document illustrative of the objects of the priests and the peasantry,—it is one too of the first importance—it brings before us under one view, the regular connection between the agitators—the priests—and the peasants; and the ultimate objects of at least the two latter parties. I do not mean to impute to all those who have leagued themselves with the agitators in Dublin, any insurrectionary or rebellious motives, least of all do I mean to impute them to the accomplished individual, from

whose work I shall extract my last documentary evidence,—to shew that agitation has excited the people to meditate, and to prepare for a rebellion; and that the priests have coalesced, or I should rather say, have excited them to it. By what means the people were led to think that the agitator contemplated a rebellion, it is not for me now to explain. But though he did not seek to undeceive them, I should still be sorry to impeach the motives of Mr. O'Connell, or to say he wished either to organize a rebellion, or to induce the people to suppose he meditated one—but whatever his motives, or intention may have been, his speeches were calculated to lead to no other conviction in the minds of those, whom he thus perhaps innocently on his part excited and misled.

In the history of the Roman Catholic association, written by Mr. Wyse, member of parliament for Waterford; we are informed, that strenuous and successful efforts were made by it, to unite the peasantry, and to induce them to forego those feuds and animosities, so prevalent amongst them. To effect this object two gentlemen were sent down by the association in Dublin, to Munster: and the following extracts, from Mr. Wyse's book, sufficiently informs us in what sense the peasantry and their priests understood the objects of their mission. Mr. Wyse's evidence on this subject is of peculiar value: being a Roman Catholic himself. He supports Lord Mulgrave's government, and was returned by the radical party to parliament; he is moreover a man of high character, and of considerable abilities and acquirements, and no one could be better qualified than he is, to form a just estimate of the scenes which he describes.



"Whenever they," (the deputies of the association,) appeared in the turbulent districts, the factions laid by their animosities, and in great crowds flocked to the CHAPELS, to embrace in the spirit of forgiveness, their most inveterate foes. It was certainly a striking sight, to see their chiefs on either side *advance up the steps of the altar*, and embrace each other, in the presence of their priests and their respective factions, and call God solemnly to witness, that henceforth for the good of their souls *and the cause of their country*, they would dwell together in amity and peace. Their hands were joined together by the *clergymen, sometimes by one or other of the two gentlemen just mentioned*, and they returned home, frequently riding side by side, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the men, women, and children of both parties.

"The commissioners, if so they may be called, were emboldened by success, and extended their visits and exhortations beyond Limerick. Tipperary was afflicted time immemorial, by the same spirit of family faction, and its most constant concomitant, secret association.

"The passion for such meetings increased, the numbers who flocked to them augmented. Instead of a few hundreds, who originally had been convened, and with some reluctance for a particular purpose, and thousands more were to be seen in every direction, anxious to reconcile their differences, and to sacrifice every private compact to their LOYALTY, as they termed it TO THE ASSOCIATION.

"*But there were many features of the most perilous description which distinguished them from all preceding assemblies.*

"*They assumed a regular uniform of green calico*, their chiefs were distinguished by some fantastic but characteristic additions, to the costume of their corps, such as feathers, *green handkerchiefs*, bearing the portrait of Mr. O'Connell, &c. &c. They displayed before them green banners, with the name of the respective parishes or town lands, each preceded by their bands of music, and all other circumstances of MILITARY ARRAY.

"*There was something more in this, than met the ordinary eye.* The people had greatly misapprehended\* the objects of the associa-

\* Mr. Wyse does not tell us what led them so to misapprehend it, it should rather be said, they were led by others to form the opinions they did entertain. Surely a more infernal policy never existed, than to deceive and excite to crime these unfortunate victims for personal purposes.

tion, and in many instances could not be convinced that they had recommended the suppression of all former divisions and discords, *with any other view, than to prepare the people for a general and united insurrectionary movement.* 'WHEN WILL HE CALL US OUT,' was more than once heard in the streets of Clonmel, during the great provincial meeting of last August, and frequently answered with the finger on the mouth, and a significant smile and wink from the by-stander. Many, too, of the peasants had arms concealed in the mountains near the towns."

I shall extract one more passage from the same excellent authority. He thus reports of Mr. O'Connell ;

"Mr. O'Connell exclaimed, in a passionate tone of invective, at the meeting at Clonmel. 'Oh, would to God that our excellent Viceroy Lord Anglesey, would but only give me a commission, and if those men of blood should attempt to attack the property and person of his Majesty's loyal subjects, WITH A HUNDRED THOUSAND OF MY BRAVE TIPPERARY BOYS, I WOULD SOON DRIVE THEM INTO THE SEA BEFORE ME.'"

It is to be presumed that this belligerent gentleman when he thus addressed his "brave Tipperary boys" must have been perfectly aware, that the military force of the country would have been quite adequate, to repress any such movement on the orange party, even if it had contemplated such a movement ; and it is to be presumed also, Mr. O'Connell had too much sagacity, to suppose that they did ; and the third presumption I shall offer is,—that he must also have been aware, that the mode proposed by him, would not be exactly suited to the policy of a regular government, *non defensoribus istis nec tali auxilio.*

Mr. Wyse thus *curiously* observes on Mr. O'Connell's warlike enthusiasm :

"This was said, (alluding to the passage just quoted,) in the warmth and wantonness of the moment, a sort of rhetorical

apostrophe, not intended to go beyond mere rhetoric; but the shout, or rather the thunder of fierce voices, with which it was simultaneously sent back, spoke volumes of dread and danger. The commission from the Marquis of Anglesey was forgotten, the war was forgotten, they already imagined themselves in full pursuit. Nothing was remembered, but Mr. O'Connell and his hundred thousand men.' "

Mr. Wyse might have added, that the speeches of our Irish Bolivar, (I believe Mr. O'Connell has not as yet formed a Papineau order of liberators) abounded with such lofty and warlike aspirations, and which are in truth always "a sort of rhetorical apostrophe," for even Falstaff was not more fully aware than he is "that the better part of valour is discretion."

"The king of France with forty thousand men,  
Went up the hill and then came down again."

As far as we have any means of information, there is not now in Ireland, as there was in 1798 any regular organization amongst the agitators for the purposes of rebellion. In my estimate of them, I would say they have neither the talent nor the energy to organize one; and if they had—least of all would Mr. O'Connell become a party to it, however the speeches of this Bolivar may have led them to calculate on his leading them. They have no such men amongst them as Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Tone, Emmett, Bond, O'Connor, and others, compared to whom, our agitators of the present day, are but as "pany whipsters," whose policy seems to be, to keep up the game of agitation and wait for the tide of events.

It is material also to remember that though no preparations now exist among the leading agitators for organizing a rebellion, or for arming the people—

though there may be no manufactory of pikes—or treasonable communication with foreign powers—no plans of rebellion amongst those competent and bold enough to arrange them. That though we have no executive directory—no baronial committee—no local committees communicating with more general ones, and all hanging from the executive directory; that, nevertheless, no such combination of well concerted plans is essential to the breaking out of a rebellion.

The Wexford insurrection in 1798, fully establishes the fact, that it is only necessary to charge the minds of the people with a full measure of sedition, and that the percussion cap can be struck on the moment so as to produce a general explosion.

It is a curious and instructive lesson, and in the present eventful period, one important to be remembered, that when the rebellion broke out in Wexford, there was no organization whatever in that county. The union had not extended to it, and there were not five united Irishmen to be found in the town of Wexford, or in its vicinity. The gentry were not favourable to a rebellion; they were, however, compelled to take a part in it, but those who headed the rebels, consisted merely of such men as now agitate the country. There were no pikes, no weapons of any kind, no previous concert for a general insurrection; and yet it was in that very county, that the rebel standard was first successfully raised. During the few weeks the rebels had possession of Wexford, they collected, and armed 20,000 men. Rises were made on the instant, gunpowder manufactured, proclamations printed, signed and published. The field was regularly taken under priestly generals, the people were encamped—officered, and drilled by

priests—and various battles were fought with the military, and were gained under priestly commanders.

These armed bands, so officered, of sanguinary and ferocious miscreants, held possession for a long time of the country, massacred the Protestants in cold blood, and with every refinement of brutality, plundered their dwellings, and committed every species of enormity; and this frightful and sanguinary insurrection was got up at the moment, and at the instance of Field Marshal General Priest Murphy, who persuaded his followers he was bullet proof.

In considering Lord Mulgrave's station in society and the official situation which he fills, it is painful to reflect on the degradation to which he has politically descended; and on the awful effects which may be expected to result from the line of policy which, unfortunately for his own fame, and for the safety of the country he has pursued.

The great poet of nature has somewhere observed that "misfortune makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows," but it would appear that politics effect unions still more incongruous; they have united the peer and the radical, the representative of England's crown with those who profess the most unbounded hatred to England; they have separated the representative of the head of the Protestant church from all friendly and confiding intercourse with the great body of the ministry of that church; and they have united him in political fellowship with the priesthood of the Church of Rome, who are openly and avowedly its active and irreconcilable enemies, and who, whilst they appear to be the special favourites at the castle, denounce that church from their altars, and strain every nerve to effect its

destruction. "Ireland once Catholic, shall be Catholic again," is now become the rallying words of the priests.

Mr. O'Connell labours in his own sphere, and in his own vocation ; his habits of life, his modes of thought, his education, his associates, his prejudices and his interest, all stimulate him to the part he is performing, it invests him with popularity, and that popularity ministers to his avarice and to his thirst of power.

He may, perhaps, believe in all the dogmas of the Roman church, and desire the temporal, as well as the spiritual supremacy of its priesthood : he may have prostrated his sturdy and vigorous intellect to a blind and ignorant belief in all its superstitious and monstrous doctrines ; for a Roman Catholic is told by his priest that under pain of eternal damnation he must believe in all its dogmas, without even knowing what they are. He may believe that Christ's atonement is insufficient without the aid of the priestly absolution ; and that the priest, even though a profligate and an infidel, can still exercise all the spiritual privileges which he claims for his order, and with undiminished effect—forgive sins—release souls out of Purgatory by means of mercenary masses—convert a wafer not alone into the body and blood of our Divine Redeemer—but even "into his soul and divinity also"—a doctrine the most monstrous ever imposed on human credulity. He may believe that the heterogeneous and packed assembly of interested intriguers that assemble to form what is called a general council, are in a peculiar manner inspired by the Holy Ghost in the composition of the canons they promulgate ; and that any Pope, no matter what a monster of iniquity he may be, is under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, when he affixes on them

the impress of his infallible signet. He may believe in the spiritual and grace-conferring efficacy of those disgusting remains of mortality, which the pope has sent over here for the salvation of souls, under the name of the relics of Saint Valentine. He may believe in all the gross superstitions of that idolatrous and apostate church;—or, for aught I know he may regard Christianity a fable, and the profession of any form of faith a matter merely of worldly consideration. But whether he be infidel or Roman Catholic, he at all events hates Protestantism, and in a more especial manner the church of England, and he avows that hatred even under the very wing of the representative of the head of that church. The louder he declaims and the more he excites an inflammable, hot-headed people against that church and its ministers, against the aristocracy and the nobles, against the union of the countries and the integrity of the empire, against the constitution and the monarchy of England, the more influential he appears to become.

Mr. O'Connell hates England [and he declares that hatred; he arraigns its constitution; decries its House of Lords, even in the very teeth of the English nobleman who represents the crown, and who, in return, uses the influence with which that position invests him, to return to parliament the avowed enemy of England, and of its constitution and its church, and the whole jet of whose agitation is to excite the people of Ireland to a similar hostility.

Through whatever painful, tortuous, and degrading policy he may be toiling on his way, Lord Mulgrave should remember he has a different part to act in the sphere of life in which the accident of birth has placed

him :—he is a nobleman, an Englishman and a Protestant, and as such, he should be faithful to his caste, to his country, and to his creed. He should reflect that the great power with which he has been invested, and the distinguished situation in which he has been placed, were given him—not to become the base and servile partizan of a priestly and radical faction, but to administer justice with an equal and impartial hand to all; to preserve for the throne of England the suffrages of its long tried, loyal, and faithful followers; to beat down the machinations of the disloyal, and to maintain, by the wise and provident policy of his government, the connection between the countries.

Whatever may have been the tone and quality of his mind, the measure of his capacity, or the pursuits in life by which he may have been distinguished, he should, at least, endeavour to elevate himself to the proud and responsible station in which he has been placed.

In thus freely exercising my privilege of commenting on the political conduct of a public functionary, receiving great emoluments from the state, and entrusted with great power from the crown, I neither stop to investigate, nor indeed do I attach any importance to, the motives of Lord' Mulgrave. But I will boldly and unequivocally express my conviction of the political conduct of the viceroy and of its results, without impeaching the intentions by which it may have been influenced.

This policy has endangered the constitution; it has endangered the church; and it has endangered the connection. It has given to the mob a frightful ascendancy; it has invested the Roman priest with new



powers; it has given to his church a sanction unheard of since the period of the Reformation; it has expelled from the castle the tried friends of England; it has pained all the loyal Protestants of the country, and rendered joyful the hearts of priests, rebels and radicals; it has heedlessly allowed all the elements of conflagration to be collected and arranged, unmindful that one spark, as in the case of the Wexford insurrection, may involve the country in one general scene of conflagration, and separate Ireland for ever from the English throne.

Such is the humiliating condition in which Lord Mulgrave has unfortunately for his own fame been placed; such is the deplorable and alarming condition to which he has reduced the country. Even so, I have no wish unnecessarily to stigmatize Lord Mulgrave, and regretting that Ireland should be the unfortunate theatre, where any nobleman may be sent over to derive a large revenue from the country without being competent to govern it, I should impute the policy he has pursued to want of ability, rather than to any motive unbecoming his high station.

Some men are distinguished by a strange and perverse obliquity of vision; they are led to regard objects rather through the medium of an erring fancy, than through the steady and sober atmosphere of common sense. The mind engaged in revelling in an imaginary world of its own creation, and in depicting fanciful and fictitious scenes of human life, seldom descends to examine the sober realities of the world we inhabit.

Doubtless Lord Mulgrave, in extending the sunshine of his viceregal countenance over priests and radicals, rather than over the Protestant Church and

loyal Protestant gentlemen, supposes that they are the best supporters of the English church, and the fittest agents in the preservation of the connexion; and he may suppose that after these kingdoms had emancipated themselves from the dark and degrading bondage of the Church of Rome and its priesthood, that it is liberality to forget the victory that has been achieved, and to be insensible of the benefits which that glorious victory has conferred.

He may agree in opinion with the priests, that the Bible should be a sealed book to the people, or with my Lord Cloncurry, he may think, that all Protestant sympathies for the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholics should remain inactive; that we should bury under the earth the talent which our divine Redeemer has intrusted us with to be used for his glory, and to multiply the inheritors of his heavenly kingdom, and that without making one single effort to enlighten our ignorant Roman Catholic countrymen, we should consign the unfortunate peasant and his child to the dark and superstitious instruction of the priest—banish our Bibles from the national schools, as objects hateful to their spiritual vision, and leave them to substitute for its inspired and holy doctrines such traditions as they, in their piety and wisdom, may deem it expedient to promulge.

Lord Mulgrave may, in some entranced vision of his political slumbers, dream that the influence of Mr. O'Connell is a better agent in preserving the tranquillity of the country, than the power of the law; that Popery is a better link to bind the countries together than Protestantism; that Popish radicals are more attached to England and her religion, than our loyal

Protestant gentlemen; that an Irish peasant is the best judge of the qualifications of a member of parliament; that the wisdom, knowledge, and purity of purpose of those who return our representatives, are in the inverse ratio of their elevation in the social and intellectual scale; that it is by the very lowest classes of society that our corporations should be ruled; and that the efficient power of constituting our House of Commons should be vested in Popish and priest-ridden peasants, and not in the Protestant and Roman Catholic gentry of the country.

Unfortunately too, some of our Protestant gentlemen seem to hold such sentiments, in common with the Viceroy, and who, under the now mis-called appellation of LIBERALS, have, since the passing of the Relief Bill given in their adhesion to the cause of Radicalism and Popery. By these means some have retained their inglorious situations under the government; others have obtained situations, and not a few of the most distinguished, aided by the priests, have travelled the broad way to the doors of the Imperial Parliament.

Little do such LIBERALS know how much they are the scorn and the scoff of their priestly masters,—at present they are tolerated, being the blind and subservient tools of the priests who have returned them; and as they give an air of respectability to the faction, serving as stalking-horses to mask the movements of the enemy, that is stealing into the citadel. The Englishman is also deceived in seeing them in company with the Radical, and trudging along, side by side with him in the cause of Popery and sedition.

When the time is ripe for ulterior measures, those liberal gentlemen will necessarily shrink from the new

services that will then be expected of them; they will then, like the late member for Carlow, become some of Mr. O'Connell's "incomprehensibles;" and being thrown aside, with derision and contempt, for fitter and more servile tools, their places will be supplied by the cowboy representatives of HIS GRACE, ("heaven save the mark") The Most Illustrious Dr. M'Hale,\* the *real* Archbishop of Tuam.

\* This meek and apostolic gentleman has now formally assumed the title of Archbishop of Tuam, and has published letters in the newspapers under the signature John Tuam, without any notice having been taken of it by the Government. The following extract from a speech made by a parish priest of the name of Hughes, fully unfolds the views and purposes of these reverend gentlemen,—it of course was not spoken unadvisedly:—

"Sir William Brabazon, M.P. was chairman of the Mayo County Meeting to address the Queen, but which the High Sheriff, Sir William O'Malley, declined holding from the fictitious list of signatures sent to him. On this occasion the Rev. M. Hughes, P.P. referring to Dr. Mac Hale's name in the requisition said—'Dr. Mac Hale was an Archbishop of the Province, and had a title to the precedence accordingly—(hear.) Whether he or the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam was entitled to the first place, was a question so nice that he would not attempt to discuss it—(hear.) Their adversaries, however, allowed that he was an Archbishop, and by the courtesy of several centuries, an Archbishop was entitled to rank after a Duke. Now, as there was only one Irish Duke, and that one not connected with Connaught, it followed that Dr. Mac Hale was entitled to hold the *first* place on the requisition.'"

## CHAPTER III.

### MR. O'CONNELL.

IN writing on the state of Ireland, and observing on the lawlessness of the people, their systematic opposition to the law, the appalling crimes that are daily committed, the revolutionary opinions that are now so especially prevalent, and the undisguised efforts of the priests to establish the Roman, on the ruins of the Church of England, it is impossible to avoid noticing the chief performer in the political tragic drama that is now acting in Ireland. It is, notwithstanding, a subject I approach with great distaste and reluctance. It is difficult to write of Mr. O'Connell: one knows not how to handle such a subject—he is like to none other, “none but himself can be his parallel.” He is so hardened in recklessness, so regardless of the usual forms of good breeding, so apparently callous to the various well merited censures he has received, so insensible to the peculiar position in which he has placed himself, so coarse and vituperative in assailing others, careless alike of what he does or of what he says, or of the mode of expression he employs, that he cannot be met in the usual style of political controversy.

To enter into a contest with such an antagonist, is like wrestling with some unseemly object, by which

you were certain to be soiled, even though victorious in the contest. He himself too, always fights under the black banner professing to give no quarter: and if in no other respect, he is, at least in this, faithful to his promise. He habitually applies the most offensive epithets to those who differ from him—neither rank nor character, nor public services, nor sex afford immunity from the foul pollution of his tongue. The females of England, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, and other distinguished individuals, have been abused by him in modes of expression, which only the very lowest classes of society would employ towards each other.

When on the other hand, we review the species of warfare he carries on against the tranquillity of the country, the incalculable mischief he has caused, and which he is causing, the appalling acts of outrage that have resulted from his agitation, the class of people that he stimulates to disturbance, and whom he calls into a pernicious activity—one is led to regard him as one of those *fera natura*, against whom any mode of warfare is justifiable;—and we become unavoidably impressed with the conviction, that it is the imperative duty of every honest man in society, to raise up, at least his voice against so dangerous and so abandoned an incendiary.

In his reckless disregard, even of his own character, and as if it were a matter to be proud of, he has boasted of his being “the best abused man in Ireland,” and if he had added, that of all other men he the most deserved so to be stigmatised; even his partizans could not fairly question the truth of the admission.

The great and mischievous ascendancy which this

man has acquired, is one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the annals even of revolutionary biography. He is apparently the most powerful individual that ever agitated the wave of turbulence in Ireland. No man of the present day has held so prominent a position in the public eye, or is at all able to compete with him in that political arena which he occupies and which he rules.

To him is given to agitate or tranquillize the country at pleasure, to rouse into a dangerous activity, trades, unions, radical and Roman Catholic associations; or to dissolve them at pleasure. To him the revolutionary party look up to—as a leader, on him the peasant relies for compensation for the losses he sustains by opposing his landlord—and most especially on him the priest relies for the establishment of his religion, and the subversion of the Protestant church. Round him, the disaffected, of all ranks and stations, rally as the great patriot, “whose Irish heart,” as he is so fond of telling them, was beating in the cause of liberty and of his country, he has been “the observed of all observers,” the glass of radicalism, in which every agitator sees himself reflected.

But by far the most extraordinary element in this is, that he possesses all this vast power, and that he is enabled to turn it to his own selfish purposes—without having fixed one single ray of personal estimation on himself. The very people who uphold him most, are regardless of his character; they consider him merely in the light of a powerful instrument, labouring for their objects. So long as he performs their work they care not what qualities, moral or otherwise, he may evince, or what well-merited contempt and abhorrence he may earn for himself.

During the long and arduous struggle in which he was engaged for emancipation, though the cause which he advocated, naturally engaged the good wishes and sympathy of every Roman Catholic, and of every liberal Protestant also, Mr. O'Connell did not, for himself, conciliate the regard of the respectable portion—even of his own communion. Though wishing well to the advocacy—they kept aloof from the advocate; those who acted with him at the public meetings did not mix with him in the social or domestic circle; and, notwithstanding the influential position he now occupies, he stands as he did in former times—alone. The command of the hustings and of the castle, has not been able to dissipate the repulsive atmosphere in which he is enveloped. The very creatures whom he returns to parliament avoid him, and on a recent occasion, when he summoned them to assemble in Dublin they would not respond to his call, even though it was re-echoed by the voice of his *fidus Achates*, the Lord Cloncurry.

When the more refined elements of society, are forced by political agitation, to mingle mechanically with him, they preserve their atomic distinctness, and move, surrounded with an atmosphere of their own, meeting him more in repulsion than in contact.

The very government which he has degraded, and which he supports, disown him, even whilst his support is necessary to their existence: and when at the head of his troops, and carrying on in their service a species of Cossack warfare in the House of Commons, though they benefit by the partizanship, they disavow the alliance; they constrain him to fight under his own flag, and draw off and leave him the plunder of the baggage, when the victory is achieved.



There never was a greater mistake, than to suppose that the ascendancy of this man, and the peculiar species of power with which he seems invested, are the results of the deference paid to moral worth, splendid talents, much less to noble actions performed by great men in the service of their country. Such a tribute, for example, as was towards the close of the last century, bestowed here on Lord Charlemont, Henry Grattan, George Ogle, Hussey Burg and others, who enrolled themselves at Dungannon, in defense of their altars and fire-sides, when Ireland was left by England to look to herself for protection.

Theirs was the fame of the great and the good, and the noble spirits of the land; it was a just and willing homage paid to virtuous greatness, by those whose praise was fame indeed. The mind yet loves to contemplate the pure and steady light they shed around them, in their glorious and propitious orbits, and whose splendour, though they themselves have passed away, will for ever mark and illuminate the historic page of their country.

They marched through the land in orderly array, with the olive branch in their hand, and the sword resting in the scabbard: not "to fright the isle from its propriety," but to animate it to a sense of its danger, and to administer to its security. The midnight torch of the incendiary, did not light them on their way: no blood stained the glory of their march, and no base alloy tarnished the resplendant lustre of their achievements.

Unlike our unhappy Viceroy, they formed no base alliance with faction, nor called to their aid the superstitious influence of the intolerant priest. They shed

blessings around them in their progress, and they received them in return. Their purposes were pure, single, and disinterested. They met as a band of brothers, giving praises to each other, none sought for himself an exclusive and dominant ascendancy, their only ambition was—who should most contribute to the welfare of their common country.

They did not stir up its putrid and stagnant pools, to overwhelm it with a muddy torrent, but they directed its pure and transparent waters into tranquil and fertilizing currents. "The armed youth of the country," as was eloquently said by Mr. Grattan, "thundered like a thousand streams, from a thousand hills, and filled the plains with their congregated waters, from whose pure and glassy surface we might see reflected the watery image of the British Constitution."—In the patriot contest in which they were engaged, they were courteous in their hostility—and truth, and not calumny, was their weapon.

The splendid eloquence of Grattan, obtained from an admiring senate, fame, as great and as well deserved as Lord Charlemont's peaceful career had achieved for him in the field. With a splendor of diction which even Edmund Burke has hardly surpassed, and seconded by the accomplished Hussey Burg, he won from an approving parliament, the valuable acquisitions of a free trade, and of a free constitution for his country.

His was not the eloquence of a vulgar vehemence, giving utterance to the conceptions of a coarse and common-place mind, in a meet vocabulary; regardless of the limits within which the refinements, I will not say of the high, but even of the decent walks of life,

have restrained the expression of dissent in opinion. His lofty demands for Ireland's rights, and for her full participation with England in all the benefits of her unequalled constitution, were conveyed in diction, worthy of the great cause in which he was engaged.

When unhappily involved in personal conflict, his tongue was as polished as his sword, and he met his antagonist with either; and always in the guise of a gentleman. He cut, but he did not mangle his victim. He brandished no bludgeon—or he registered no vow, and he skulked not behind the altar or the priest, to elude the penalty of his powerful but polished sarcasm.

Mr. O'Connell, in personal estimation, in position, in ability, in manner, in motive, in every thing, is the very antithesis of both these illustrious men. He may be, as the phrase goes, equally popular; but his popularity is not as theirs—it is not their mantle which has descended on him.

Mr. Grattan in writing of Lord Charlemont, thus beautifully and justly characterises him: "He cast upon the crowd that followed him the gracious shade of his own accomplishments, so that the very rabble grew civilized as they approached his person." Mr. O'Connell casts back on them, the concentrated reflection of their own coarseness, encircling it, like the object-glass of a bad telescope, with a darker and a more distorted ray.

In regarding Mr. O'Connell in the light of a parliamentary speaker, putting himself forward, as he does, as the leading advocate of his country's rights, and demanding from the Imperial Parliament, "equal justice for Ireland," we shall find him as inferior to Mr. Grattan in the value of the measures which he

advocates, and in the ability with which he enforces them, as he is to the late Lord Charlemont in personal estimation and refinement;—the peculiar position in which he stands, has caused a far higher estimate to be formed of his abilities than they merit.

That he possesses a strong and energetic intellect, and great requisites for his profession, no one can attempt to question, and he also enjoys the well-deserved reputation of being learned in all its details and technicalities. Shrewd, ready, and sagacious, he is at all times able to bring into action all the knowledge and ability he is in possession of; to seize on all the strong points of his client's case, and to enforce them with a powerful and effective fluency. In distorting or illustrating the meaning of a statute as it may bear on the cause he is advocating; in citing cases or precedents that favour his client, or in mystifying those that do not, every one must admit his ability and his acuteness. Few men of the present day can address a jury or even the bench with so much effect, and in the searching drollery and slang of cross-examination, he is hardly surpassed, even by Mr. Holmes.

When estimated by the standard of other professional men, he sinks in the comparison; he is not endowed with these higher qualifications, which would entitle him to rank as an advocate with the late Mr. Ponsonby, or Mr. Curran, nor with Lord Plunket, or Mr. Bush. For myself I would far have preferred the advocacy of the late amiable and accomplished Mr. North, and though Mr. Barrowes performed on a bad instrument, he used in his day "to discourse far more eloquent music."

He is not much spoken of in the Court of Equity,

but, as a *nisi prius* lawyer, no man in this country stands higher, nor, perhaps, take him in all and all, is he equalled in that department of his profession; and we might apply to him the words used by the late Mrs. Siddons, when asked her opinion of a certain actor: "He is the first in his line, but then his line is not a very high one."

In addressing an aggregate meeting in Ireland, he is unrivalled. Every string he touches, vibrates as he wishes. His audience readily respond to every note that he sounds, he being, as it were, the talking representative of themselves. He rejoices in the coarsest and most offensive epithets and illustrations. Lord Stanley is a "shave beggar," and "Lord Oxmantown is only fit to turn wooden bowls for butter women." His sketches are all dauby and caricature, but they are therefore the more agreeable to his hearers, and the more effective.

In addressing the promiscuous crowd that congregate to hear him, he does not, like other orators, consider by what mode of address he would be most likely to win their suffrages, but he evidently obeys the impulse of his own nature; and he is the more effective on that account. Even when in the House of Commons, though labouring to adopt a more measured and elevated form of speech, nature will still assert her rights. "*Si naturam furco expellas tamen usque recurret*," or as the late Mr. Curran used to say of him, "the yellow clay was continually breaking out through the plaster of Paris."

His voice and his manner admirably harmonize with the peculiar character of his oratory, and his great powers of delivery are not impeded by any *mauvais*.

*honte*, nor indeed by any species of *honte* whatsoever. His declamations abound in the most wretched common-place, again and again repeated: such as England's seven centuries of misrule—Ireland's wrongs, and her green fields, and her mountain breezes, and her thundering streams, that would turn the machinery of a thousand kingdoms; when we add to this his "hereditary bondsmen"—"first gem of the sea," and a few more quotations from Moore, again and again repeated, as if to show the poverty of his literature, we have a tolerably fair sample of the mob-eloquence of Mr. O'Connell.

It would be unfair to deny him great power and readiness as a debater, but his fame rests there; his efforts evince neither learning nor philosophy, and they have no claim whatsoever to eloquence, "no thoughts that breathe, nor words that burn," they are always coarse and common-place. He never delivered an oration that a man of ability would be proud to have spoken, nor uttered a sentence that a man of taste would wish to remember. His speeches live but for the moment; they are as the days that are gone by, and they have already returned to the earth from whence they emanated.

To compare him with any of those great men that once thundered within the walls of the English and Irish parliament, would be a burlesque—he merely brought to parliament the ready fluency of a practised advocate, and were it not that he possesses so much power in disturbing the country, the good taste of the House of Commons would long since have turned a deaf ear to his oratory.

A liberal writer in the *Morning Chronicle*—Mr.

Barnes, I believe—in alluding to the peculiar character of Irish eloquence, in a sketch which he had drawn of Mr. Sheridan, thus expresses himself—“I will not take my example from their O'Connells, I would rather refer to their great men, to their Burkes, their Sheridans, and their Grattans—the one is a cataract of mud, a stagnant ditch vexed into a torrent; the others are pure and steady streams, flowing along with equal grace and majesty, and whose overflowings are enough to water a thousand petty rivulets.”

If a selection were made of the BEAUTIES of his oratory, they would evince more vulgarity, more slanderous and coarse abuse, than could be compiled from all the speeches ever uttered, either in the English or in the Irish House of Commons, or, indeed, in any other deliberative assembly whatsoever. In this point he is not even equalled by his prototype—the brave and the illustrious Papineau.

In reviewing the political career of Mr. O'Connell, and in considering the various measures he has at different times advocated and opposed, one is considerably embarrassed how to estimate him. Our first difficulty is, to ascertain what are the views he really does entertain; our next is, what are the results his measures are intended to arrive at; and our third and last difficulty is to discover, whether he be guided by any public principles whatsoever.

The most prominent point in his character as a public man, is the laboured assiduity with which, on all and every occasion, he puts forward himself. In all his letters and speeches, self is predominant; and if he be the first mob orator in Ireland, so also is he the very prince of egotists—no man lauds himself so incessantly,

and so highly—no man so much endeavours to depreciate the pretensions of others. He exercises also this latter talent, with the strictest impartiality; for he seeks equally to depreciate those who act with him, and those who oppose him.

His egotism is not alone universally exclusive, but it is peculiar, and evinced differently from the egotism of other men. His is not the egotism of vanity—it is not the vanity of a weak or of a proud man—it is not a vain conceit of ability or of position—it is not the pride of great talent, honourably and beneficially exercised—it is the egotism of purpose, a sordid, selfish, calculatory egotism, for personal advancement. On all occasions he puts himself first, and he levies contributions for himself alone.

I do not mean to question his self-sufficiency, or that he holds himself in no measured estimation, but essentially, even in his egotism, he is an actor.

But Mr. O'Connell is not only the greatest of egotists, but he manifests that egotism in a manner the most disgusting and offensive; he will not only not allow any rival near the throne, but he will batter down any one that dares even to approach it. During the whole period of Roman Catholic agitation, he manifested the meanest and the most exclusive jealousy, even towards all those who were running precisely the same career with himself; and he sought by every means in his power to deprive them of their just fame, and to depreciate them in public opinion. In every subsequent stage of his political life, he has manifested the same selfish and contemptible jealousy of every individual that co-operated with him; more especially when they seemed in any degree likely to attract public attention



towards themselves; and there is scarcely an individual of any eminence, who acted with him in his turbulent career, whom he has not depreciated and abused. No proud and haughty aristocrat was ever more impatient of opposition; no exclusive or tyrannical demagogue ever met difference of opinion with more insolent and intolerant arrogance. How he has carried this same system of intolerant egotism into England, let those tell, who have had the misfortune at any time to be politically connected with him.

Putting aside for the present his arrogant and intolerant egotism, and his exclusive monopoly of democratic sway, and investigating to what ends he has directed the bad power which, unfortunately for his country, he has acquired, or the principles which influence his movements, we are bewildered in pursuing him through the uncertain and varying mazes of his political peregrinations.

Before the passing of the Relief Bill, there were associations connected with his agitation, that in some measure redeemed the selfishness and coarseness by which it was distinguished; and, however the mode in which he advocated emancipation might be condemned, the cause in which he was engaged obliterated, like Sterne's tear of the recording angel, the remembrance of the mischievous agency which he employed in its support. Mr. O'Connell claims for himself the merit of carrying this important question, and it was most unwisely acknowledged to have been conceded to the turbulence he excited. And it would be difficult to pronounce whether the mode in which it was agitated, or the unstatesman-like manner in which it was conceded, was the most to be reprehended—

both alike contributed to frustrate the beneficial effects that were expected to result from it.

The valuable boon of the elective franchise was, in less favourable times, voluntarily conceded to the Roman Catholic, as a reward, not for his turbulence, but for his peaceable and orderly conduct, and for the becoming manner in which he sought to obtain it. When the legislative union took place, the great impediment in the way of a full and effective emancipation was removed. The late Lord Castlereagh was on all hands admitted to be most sincere in his wishes to carry it, and the liberal Protestants in both kingdoms gave him every assistance. It experienced the most decided opposition from the tory party, but the motives which led to the opposition were essentially different—some opposed it from selfish motives alone, and in order that they might monopolize all the power and emoluments of the State. These did not wish the Roman Catholic to be emancipated, even from his spiritual bondage; and even when conviction led him to join the Established Church, he was still regarded by them with hostility and distaste. To be even born a Roman Catholic was an original sin in their eyes, which no subsequent conformity could atone for. They were not influenced by any desire either for the temporal or spiritual amelioration of the Roman Catholics, their only object was to rule supreme themselves, and that the Roman Catholics should continue to be their slaves.

But there were also a high and honourable class of men who conscientiously opposed emancipation, on public grounds alone, who had no animosity to the Roman Catholics as such, but who dreaded the use that

would be made of the power which they sought, and of the ulterior measures that might be pursued, and above all they dreaded the return of priestly dominion—an apprehension in which the present state of Ireland has fully justified them in being influenced by. This was the general view under which the people in England regarded the question of emancipation, and the opposition resulting from this view was excited into a more determined hostility, in consequence of the mode in which the question was agitated by Mr. O'Connell.

The Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen were then, as they are now, hostile to the temporal ascendancy of the Roman priesthood, and they were then as they are now, the advocates of tranquillity, good government, and of the connexion with England, and opposed to turbulence and radicalism. They had ceased to view either the Reformation or the “glorious revolution” in a spirit of partizanship; and were no longer influenced by any hostility either to England or to the House of Hanover, and very few of them had joined in the conspiracy of the United Irishmen.

It was with loyal views, and in a corresponding tone, that the Roman Catholic gentry wished to approach the legislature for redress. They did not countenance the ambitious purposes of their priests, and they were surely not at all answerable for them; but they felt as all honourable men should feel, the degraded position in which they were politically placed; merely for following a mode of religious worship in which they believed.

Mr. O'Connell was aware that any negotiation, or communication with the government, that might ensue from the consideration of the Roman Catholic ques-

tion; would necessarily be carried on by the aristocracy of that body, and that he himself would not be placed in any very prominent position. This, of course, did not suit the selfish policy which has characterized—indeed I might say governed—every step of his mischievous agitation. Unless emancipation advanced himself, personally, he had no interest in its success; and only we would not be justified in saying so, his acts would almost lead one to believe, that he even systematically impeded and retarded it, that both might be obtained together.

He purposely drove away Lord Fingal, and the Roman Catholic aristocracy, from the Roman Catholic Association, and thus deprived the question of the moral support they would have given it—that he might rule alone: and he then agitated the measure in a revolutionary manner, to secure for himself the support of the lower classes, and of the dialoyal.\*

\*The mode he adopted to drive Lord Fingal, and those nobles and gentlemen who acted with him, from the Association; was this, it was generally understood that the late Prince of Wales had expressed some opinions to Lord Fingal, respecting Roman Catholic Emancipation, which being told in confidence, the noble Lord did not think it becoming to reveal; and as Mr. O'Connell had stated in the Roman Catholic Committee, that Lord Fingal was to be officially asked the question, he and his friends withdrew, to avoid the insult he would be subjected to in refusing to answer it.

When again invited to join the meetings, he consented, on the grounds of petitioning only for unrestricted, and not for unqualified Emancipation, and I believe presided at the meeting in Clarendon-street Chapel. Faith was purposely broken with him, and a resolution was proposed for unqualified Emancipation. Lord Fingal and his friends withdrew, under a strong hooting, excited specially by Mr. O'Connell.

The entire system of agitation that he pursued, was in a peculiar degree calculated to excite, and to keep up the hostility of the Protestants.

Even Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, and others, who were the most efficient advocates of Emancipation, were denounced by Mr. O'Connell, because they did not place themselves in his hands, and when Lord Grenville ceased to be minister, he used every effort to prevent the tory government from carrying the measure, as, under such circumstances, Mr. O'Connell would not have been individually benefitted by it, and the resolution, which re-echoed a very indecorous speech of the late Lord Donoughmore, was, in an eminent degree, calculated to render the king most

Subsequently in London, on the memorable occasion "of the wings," Mr. O'Connell agreed to grant more on the part of the Roman Catholics, than Lord Fingal himself was willing to concede; and he proposed to give the government an influence over the clergy, which was universally opposed by the Roman Catholic body. It is not well known what produced this sudden subserviency on the part of this uncompromising Roman Catholic. He at the same time endeavoured to get a resolution passed, appointing him sole manager of Roman Catholic affairs in London. The plot, however, whatever it may have been, failed; Mr. O'Connell afterwards recanted his opinion, when he saw the public against him, cried *peccavi*, and said he was mistaken; but Mr. O'Connell's mistakes on such matters are rather suspicious.

It was on this memorable occasion, I believe, that he gave evidence before parliament, not very favourable to his present friends, the priests; and that he intruded on the levee of the Duke of York, and wrote a worthless, and under all the circumstances, a most inconsistent letter of apology to Mr. Peel. "There is something more than natural in all this, if philosophy could but find it out."

adverse to it. In fact, it would appear that Mr. O'Connell never agitated the Roman Catholic question, but as subservient to his own views of ambition and of avarice, and that he retarded it from the same motives. In this, as in every other act of his political life—self only was predominant.

But, though Mr. O'Connell retarded the Relief Bill, and alienated from it a great and a powerful party in the state, justice was on the side of the Roman Catholics, and however the more respectable portion of that body might disapprove of Mr. O'Connell's politics in general, and of the tone and temper in which he supported their question, they were necessarily interested in its success.

All the liberal Protestants of the United Kingdom stood by their side, and gave them their great and valuable support; foreign states took an interest in the question—an earnest and powerful excitement pervaded every corner of the kingdom; and the government in the end conceded the question, but in doing so, unfortunately took no measures to secure the Protestant Church from the encroaching and never ceasing ambition of the Romish priesthood.

Since the passing of the Relief Bill, Mr. O'Connell's whole public life has been one unvarying scene of turbulent, and as it would appear, purposeless excitement; assembling the people in lawless and formidable meetings; exciting them against England, and complaining of the wrongs of Ireland, without proposing any practical measure to redress them, that in considering his political conduct, one is irresistibly led to the conclusion, that he is not influenced by any public principle whatsoever. That he is altogether

indifferent to his country's welfare, that self-advancement is the only object he seeks, and that to obtain this he has involved the country in one general scene of lawless disturbance, thereby preventing all useful measures of amelioration.

His political conduct has been, in every respect, inconsistent—he is a repealer to-day, and a non-repealer to-morrow, but to keep alive his popularity, and to make the government dread his power of doing mischief, he never forgets to allude to his future agitation of that dismembering, indeed, I might say, revolutionary, measure. He at one time excites the people to lawless combinations, and at another time he, suddenly, and without any apparent cause, treacherously turns on those whom he has excited\*. He has in turn advocated and condemned all public men, and all shades of opinion. All the public characters in the country, from the Duke of Wellington down to the late Mr. Hunt, have been alternately lauded and abused by him. He has raised the storm of turbulence at one time without any adequate reason, and at other times he has endeavoured to suppress it, though the causes for which he formerly so mischievously excited it, whatever they may be, had continued the same. He seems to wallow in a bad species of popularity that he loves, in order to wage war against the government when it is independent, or to marshal the mob at its side when he can lord it over a subservient viceroy, and render him the tool of his ambition or of his resentment. He at one time puts forward

\* As in his late conduct to the Trades' Unions, whom he excited and subsequently condemned, for following the measures he stimulated them to.

a series of measures, which he declares to be absolutely essential to the prosperity of Ireland, and when a party comes into power, ostensibly favourable to these measures, he abandons them altogether, when that party favours his own more immediate and personal objects. When a ministry, whom he cannot render subservient, are in power, he agitates the country for the attainment of measures that he knows will not be granted, and pours on the government the coarsest abuse, in the hope that by embroiling the country in tumult he may obtain their removal. When he has a trucking and subservient viceroy, he abandons all those public measures which he before deemed so essential, and in the agitation of which, the people were rendered so lawless and so criminal. His only object seems to be, to have the power of disturbing the country, to compel a subservient government to reward him for securing its tranquillity. He wishes to hold the box of Pandora in his hand, that he might open or close it—for money.

His ambition is to have the power to marshal the mob in opposition to an independent government, or at the side of a subservient one. In the mean time, the coppers of his ferocious and miserable dupes flow into his pockets, and the better classes are intimidated into contribution; and whilst he suspends the agitation of these measures, which he before told the people were so essential, he does not suspend the circulation of the begging-box—he continues, notwithstanding, to pocket the money which the priests and his partizans wring by deceit and intimidation from the people, whilst he does nothing for them in return, but, in order to maintain his popularity, he promises that he



will do so hereafter ; and to evince his sincerity, and to stimulate their contributions, he makes violent and exciting speeches during its circulation, which prevent the attainment of the tranquillity which he has promised the castle to effect. and which is so essential to the Viceroy. He is thus playing a game with the government and the people—he renders the one his subservient instrument, and he extorts money from the other—and he alternately betrays them both.

In the proper acceptation of the word, he never appeared to me to be an advocate for liberty, nor will I do him the injustice to call him a leveller or an advocate for political licentiousness, except when they contribute to his own personal elevation. No man can regard him as the advocate of religious liberty.

The game he is now playing necessarily constrains him to affect to be so, but he cannot reconcile religious or any other species of liberty, with the religion he professes. The church of Rome denounces alike the freedom of the press and the freedom of opinion ; it regards every other form of Christianity as a damnable heresy—teaches the doctrine that there is no salvation outside its pale, and that “all means of putting down heresy are justifiable ;” and that the most solemn oaths and obligations, when the interests of the Romish Church are concerned, are not only to be broken, but that it would be sinful to keep them, and that any oaths, opposed to the interests of the Church are perjuries rather than oaths :—“*Perjuria enim potius, quam juramenta existenda sunt illa quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiæ faciunt.*”\* Let Mr. O'Connell unequivocally

\* Con. Constan.

declare his dissent from this doctrine, and break with the priest, or throw off the uniform of those who fight in the ranks of religious toleration.

He boasts loudly and takes great praise to himself for his support of the protestant dissenter; but that proves nothing in his favour, he had no interest in the question between the protestant dissenter and the church of England; it was to him as nothing, no Popish principles were mixed with it. He did it from a selfish and political motive also—to enlist thereby the protestant dissenter in his favour. There was a Popish object involved, too, in his advocacy of the protestant dissenter, by assailing the church of England and rendering her obnoxious to Protestants;—he merely aided the designs of the Roman priests in their efforts to subvert that church, which is throughout the Christian world the great stay of Gospel religion, in opposition to the imaginary and lying traditions and other abominations of the church of Rome. Should the priests succeed in establishing Popery in Ireland, woe be to the Protestant who would trust to the tender mercies of the priest and of their hired and subservient advocate for the freedom of religious worship. The natural bias of the man's mind is intolerance, and in the same breath in which he advocated the religious liberty of the Jew, he denounced the Unitarian.

Mr. O'Connell is as little an advocate for civil as he is for religious liberty; he aspires not for liberty but for dictatorship; his Irish heart never, in truth, followed "that sweet and gracious goddess, liberty, whom all in private and in secret worship." We now view the events of the Irish rebellion of 1798, through the calm medium of history. They appear to us in their

true colours, and we can without prejudice or partisanship impartially consider them. The atrocities of that rebellion, have, I should suppose, eradicated from every well-regulated mind all taste for revolutions; and if the leaders of that most calamitous conspiracy, were now to rise from their graves, they would, doubtless, be themselves the very first to condemn it.

But there were, notwithstanding, all that may be said against it, heart-stirring emotions exciting the minds of brave and honourable but misguided men in that eventful period. The Americans had achieved a great and glorious revolution. To use the animated words of Flood—"A voice from America shouted to liberty—the echo of it caught the people as it passed across the Atlantic, and they renewed the voice till it reverberated here."

The French nation was grievously oppressed by its peerage and by its priests, it sustained a double bondage—a civil and religious servitude. The brave and honourable, but weak and misguided La Fayette, who had fleshed his maiden sword in the cause of American freedom, now again drew it for the liberty of his native land. Societies of a revolutionary tendency were formed in London. Mr. Fox, Lord Grey, Sir Francis Burdett, the Duke of Bedford, and other distinguished individuals, enrolled their names amongst "the friends of the people." Even the mild and accomplished biographer of the *Medici*, enlisted his classic muse in the cause of revolution, and composed the animating ode commencing thus—

"O'er the vine covered hills and gay mountains of France  
The sunshine of liberty rose."

England then tottered on the very brink of a revola-

tion; fortunately the immortal Edmund Burke raised his voice against regicides and infidels, and the voice of the warner was heard. The *élite* of the whig party and the orderly portion of the nation rallied round the crown, a line of demarcation was drawn, and the church and the throne were saved.

In Ireland various circumstances combined to add fuel to the revolutionary spirit, then so prevalent, and there were here many serious causes of disaffection that did not exist in England. The Roman Catholics had not their due estimation in the state; they were universally and unjustly oppressed. An exclusive party swayed the country, and in return for being permitted to plunder it, they sacrificed its interests to England. Protestants of rank and character, organized a conspiracy to separate Ireland from England, and to found in the former a republican form of government, based on the ground of religious liberty. No man rejoices more than I do, in the failure of that ill-advised and wicked conspiracy. Had it succeeded, the revolution in France would be as a work of mercy when compared to the scenes it would have given rise to in Ireland. I was then a boy, acquainted with what was going on, and with sufficient sagacity to understand it; I now freely and honestly confess that every feeling of my heart went with it. I had, of course, no knowledge, no experience to guide me, but was like all boys the creature of impulse. Future events appeared to me through a deceitful medium, I regarded them through a glass shadowed dimly. It was my fortune to be in Wexford during the period of the rebellion, and my friends and connections were engaged in it. I was soon rendered sensible of all the horrors which that rebellion

had caused, and of the still greater that would have followed had it not been fortunately suppressed. It owed its origin to the priests, and they were its most influential leaders. The people were worked up by them to a fury against the Protestants, and I make no doubt that had it existed one fortnight longer, the great mass of Protestants would have been slaughtered, and also the respectable Roman Catholics who interposed to prevent bloodshed. I subsequently accompanied my father to America, where he was exiled, completely cured of any revolutionary propensities. But even regarding it with the reprobation I now do, having, from the vantage ground on which I now stand, a clearer view of its character, and being fully convinced of the frightful results that would have followed, I would not even now write one harsh expression against the misguided Roman Catholic, who, with the lights he then had, the hopes he entertained, the position in which he stood, and who in honest singleness of purpose had joined in that ill-advised and unfortunate conspiracy. Mr. O'Connell's Irish heart, then thumped by the side of his brother orange-man in the ranks of the yeomen, wearing the same uniform, shouldering the same musket, responding to the same bugle, and professing the same politics—being then most ostentatious in proclaiming his loyalty.

Dr. Johnston has somewhere justly observed, that the flame of liberty burns brightly in the bosom of youthful genius, but that it sobers down wonderfully as the progress of years teaches him the real amount of its value. Mr. O'Connell stands pre-eminently opposed to this maxim of the moralist. When he was a young man and his Roman Catholic countrymen were op-

pressed, he sided with their oppressors. He is now an old man—his Roman Catholic are as free as his Protestant countrymen, and he himself, his brother, his sons and his connections sit in the imperial parliament. Since that period every institution in Ireland has been ameliorated and liberalized; the country is progressing in wealth and in intelligence, *and would have progressed far more rapidly but for the agitation he keeps up.* He now brawls for liberty, marshals the tenant against his landlord, and every step which he is pursuing leads to turbulence, poverty and demoralization. His speeches have excited the people to think of revolution and separation, and he himself has expressed opinions and determinations, accompanied by significant looks and gestures, at trades' unions and other meetings, boasting that Ireland should not want a Bolivar, and by still more open declarations also, which the press would not dare to publish, more particularly as he might disavow his words, as he is accused of having done before.

It would be a curious, and, in the present state of Ireland, not an unimportant inquiry to trace the origin, the progress, and the grounds of this man's popularity. Many are led to think it is the natural result of his political conduct—far from it—it is all artificial—it is not even personal—it is only a semblance—at this very moment, IT RESTS ALONE ON THE PRIEST: "a breath may break it, as a breath has made." The popularity he has acquired, from the beginning up to the present moment, has been the result of deep laid artifice, it has been systematically and unremittingly cultivated by a series of unceasing efforts, which no man but himself would have had the perseverance to

pursue. The usages of society prohibit the imputation of motives, but they do not apply in the case of Mr. O'Connell; the security of the country should not be sacrificed to an over-fastidious refinement, and when we see the torch in the hands of the incendiary, we should anticipate the mischief, and not wait till the conflagration has evinced the motive for which it was carried. Besides, the characters and motives of all men who come out from their domestic privacy, to influence and to sway public opinion, and to govern public affairs, are legitimate subjects of inquiry, and, of all men, Mr. O'Connell is the least entitled to claim an exemption, whether we view his conduct towards others, or contemplate the dreadful effects that have resulted from his agitation. He is to the politician and moralist what the comet is to the astronomer, who traces its path, scrutinizes its motion, and the causes by which it is accelerated or retarded, subjects to a rigid analysis the forces that sway it, and the disturbances which it is itself enabled to produce; and as the astronomer thus investigates every element of the fiery meteor which traverses our sober and orderly system, as if an alien from its laws, and in defiance of its power, threatening to overwhelm it with some sudden and awful calamity in its portentous visitation—so also should every element of this formidable and mischievous disturber of our social system be analysed.

Whatever feelings of delicacy we might be influenced by in other instances, to prevent us from imputing motives, none certainly apply here, it is not only a right, but it is a duty. Besides, he himself is swayed by no one sentiment of delicacy or

forbearance; he gives no quarter and he is entitled to none in return; he does not fight with the weapons of legitimate warfare, and he is without its pale. He keeps no truce—he observes no treaty—he regards no promise—he abides by no engagement;—the friend by whose side he stands to-day will probably be his victim to-morrow. The coarse slanderer of every man and of every party; he stops at nothing to obtain his object, or to wound his opponent, but on every occasion gives unrestrained vent to his vulgar and coarse invective, and unrestrained by any one sentiment of decorum, delicacy, or good breeding, he evinces, on every occasion, a reckless disregard of all the proprieties and decencies of public and private contention. He has now obtained the power for which he so long and so assiduously laboured, and enjoys a species of influence which few men before possessed. His popularity has enabled him to wring large sums of money from the people; it has also enabled him to command the Viceroy; he dispenses the patronage of the castle, and he influences its measures, either to gratify his resentment or his thirst of power, and these seem to be the only purposes for which he has kept up this frightful system of agitation. He has turned it to no one beneficial measure for his country, and the use he has made of the political power he has acquired, under the administration of Lord Mulgrave, has fully revealed the motive which led him to be such an assiduous cultivator of popularity.

It has been well and truly said of him, that “he followed public opinion that he might appear to lead it;” and, if we add to this pithy sentence, that he la-



boured for popularity, that he might make it an object of profitable traffic; we shall have the clue to the secret policy of his agitation, and with this light we are at once enabled to discover the cause of all his political tergiversations. Every effort of his political life has been an effort to obtain popularity, and he has endeavoured by turns to be popular with every party in Ireland. In the first stage of his career, he started as a loyalist and became a yeoman. He also, at the same time, it has been said, put forward his disbelief in Popery, and was fond of professing the latitude of his opinions on religious subjects. He subsequently became a Roman Catholic agitator, but still continued a liberal in religion; then he became a repealer of the union, he then tried the orange party again, and with as little success as before, though he lent himself to an unjustifiable job to obtain their favour. It procured for him not popularity but contempt, and those who profited by his meanness only sneered at him in return. He tried the Roman Catholic aristocracy, and they shrunk from so uncongenial a fellowship. He then essayed the midling classes, and he failed also, even the mob, though he endeavoured by every means to excite them, refused to follow him. There was no party that he did not court, no effort for popularity that he did not make. There was a regular system of professional puffing acted on also, and it was studiously circulated abroad by his friends that he received more Protestant than Roman Catholic briefs.

When the Roman Catholics assembled to petition at the instigation of the late Mr. Fox, and formed themselves into associations, there was a great spirit of rivalry for leadership, and no one so assiduously

laboured for it as Mr. O'Connell, or endeavoured so much to put down all rivals. He evinced the most unbecoming jealousy even towards those who laboured in connexion with him for one common object; and he left no artifice untried to secure exclusive popularity for himself. Following the example of the French Jacobins, he had regular partizans to applaud him and cry down his opponents at all the public meetings. He used to assemble at night with those Roman Catholics, who were more immediately of his party, to frame the resolutions that were to be submitted to the next public meeting. He left it to others to propose these resolutions and held back himself. If they were favourably received he supported them; if the meeting were adverse to them, "he followed public opinion that he might appear to lead it," turned against his friends, and opposed the very resolutions which he himself had formed, or in which, at all events he had concurred. All his speeches, all his measures were directed to obtain popularity; he laboured incessantly for this one object, and for this alone.

No artist ever elaborated a picture more assiduously than Mr. O'Connell laboured for the species of popularity he has acquired. Every shade of colour, every instrument was employed to effect this one all important object. He painted again and again the same canvass, and his pictures always varied. It was as it were a political diorama to catch the "Cynthia of the minute," and to appropriate to himself the features and the hue of every varying popular opinion. He has in his efforts for popularity advocated in turn every discordant opinion. In all he has said, in all he has done, I can see no one principle by which he steers,

but like a weather-cock he is turned by every varying breeze, and there is no point of the compass, to which, or from which at one time or another he has not veered. He has been consistent alone in keeping up a regular system of agitation, and he agitates for money; the popularity which he acquires by agitation invests him with power and administers to his avarice.

Even in the very first stages of his political career, he endeavoured to turn his agitation to account; one of the first efforts made was an endeavour to get up a subscription for a service of plate for him, chiefly amongst the operatives of the liberty, but it failed; very little money was collected, and no other class of people took it up.\* The next plan was a hopeful scheme to get up a general contribution. A finance committee was got up in the association, and a regular

\* At that period it was only on such people and in a small retail way, that he could think of trading on popularity, but he has since levied his contributions on a more general scale, and has even carried the begging box into England, as the unfortunate factory children unfortunately well know. Even a noble Duke has not blushed to purchase his mercenary services. If the Duke of Bedford were sensible of the eyes with which the priests, whose mouth-piece Mr. O'Connell is, regard Woburn Abbey; he would have paused before he sanctioned their oscule. The Roman priests regard the Bedford family as the usurpers of their property. The present occupier of Woburn is as great a usurper, according to "the inflexible principles of the church," as the first Lord John who received it from the sacrilegious hands of King Edward. It makes but little difference to the church whether he be the first, second, or the hundred usurper. *Rarum refert*, "says the church *esse primum vel secundum usurpatorem*;" and again, "*idem est detinere tanquam proprium et invadere seu usurpare*."

report put forward for a compulsory levy. A simultaneous collection was to be made in all the chapels throughout Ireland, and the priest was to denounce from the altar the names of all such defaulters as would not subscribe "ten pence at least in the cause of their holy religion." Some of the more radical priests gave their assistance, but in general they were refractory; they had their own ten-pennies to collect, and the finance scheme of the agitator looked like trenching on their proper manor. The bishops were unfavourable to it, they looked rather coldly and suspiciously on Mr. O'Connell; they dreaded the putting forth in the association of liberal principles on the subject of religion, and having also views of their own on the government, they only carried on a species of political flirtation with the agitator. This delectable scheme of a forced levy failed also, and little or no money flowed into the treasury.\*

What was now to be done?—no plate, no money, and no popularity, by which both money and power would be acquired. The aristocracy of his own body "kept their state," the public meetings he got up were in general failures, neither the priest nor the mob would follow him; annual parliaments, universal suffrage, election by ballot, had no supporters, and excited no commotion nor even interest. The repeal of the union was only laughed at, the liberal Protestant and

\* On a subsequent occasion, when a large sum of money was lodged to the credit of the Roman Catholic Association, there is some story told of its unaccountable disappearance. It was mentioned in the newspapers, and perhaps some of my readers may recollect the circumstance. The particulars of that transaction I have forgotten.

the orangeman alike disregarded him, the priest viewed him with indifference, the peasant pursued his operations in quiet, and the castle regarded him with contempt.

A less persevering patriot would have sunk under all these difficulties, his ardour would have been cooled, and he would have given up the game in despair; not so the agitator, to whom even his greatest enemy must concede the palm of energy and perseverance. He felt he was at fault, that he was as yet only a babler in the pack, and he beat about for the true scent, and the deep and full toned cry, that followed, announced that he had succeeded. He got on the real track of public opinion—"the true Simon pure"—and he followed it with his usual energy. The priest was public opinion, and he harked forward in full cry and became—a papist.

It has been said, but I know not with what truth, that Mr. O'Connell went to France with the intention of becoming a priest, that he, unfortunately for the church, lost his vocation and returned home a liberal in religion. Some have gone so far as to say that he was even tinged with the hue of those infidel opinions then so prevalent in France. It has been said that he loved to avow his notions respecting religion, and that as when he joined the orange yeomen he rather obtrusively put forward his loyalty, so also, as a liberal or a latitudinarian in religion, he was equally fond of avowing his sentiments. It is certainly a curious subject of consideration, the extreme contradictions that have taken place in the political and religious phases of his life; from a loyal yeoman he has become a decided radical, and whatever he may himself intend,

his speeches teach and excite to rebellion; and from being a liberal in religion, he has now become a most exclusive and intolerant papist.

The writer of these observations has certainly no interest in the question, whether Mr. O'Connell believes in the priest, or disbelieves in the bible, and in the case of any other individual it would be most indecorous even to glance at such a subject. But it becomes a duty to trace the source of this man's power, and to comment on the public character, the motives, and the objects of the individual, to whose agitation the enormities committed by a ferocious peasantry are mainly to be attributed. Far however be it from me, to question the sincerity of his conversion to Romanism, or to attribute his ardent and sudden zeal in its cause to any other motives, than those by which the priests themselves are in general actuated, and certainly none of them are so anxious and so zealous as he is to evince his faith—or are near so well paid for believing.

The same energy, and the same intolerance of opposition that have distinguished all Mr. O'Connell's political opinions, have distinguished also his religious ones, and when the truths of Romanism flashed in full conviction on his mind, he became a believer indeed. First he made a general confession to the priest, heard mass and received—he did not confine his story to the metropolis, but confessed and received also through all the towns on circuit; the provincial press recorded the pious acts of the holy man, and the metropolitan press re-echoed them. So true a believer and so zealous a Roman could not have failed to purchase a few packages of plenary indulgences from the Pope's wholesale and retail warehouse at Rome. He may for aught

we know have become a member of the purgatorial society and subscribed to it, to purchase priestly masses. Whether he wears a scapular round his neck or encircles his loins with the cherd of Saint Francis, or whatever other pious and grace-giving observances he may believe in and practice to save his soul, must be left to be recorded by the future historian.

Whatever may have been the cause of his conversion, one fortunate result for him followed.—Up to the period that he knelt before the priests, and confessed his sins, in the Roman form,—“to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to his ghostly father;”<sup>\*</sup> he had no influence in Ireland—he got up public meetings with the greatest difficulty, and canvassed, unsuccessfully, one gentleman after another to take the chair, so as to give some appearance of respectability to those whom he, with so much difficulty, assembled. After his confession his popularity wonderfully increased, the priests even became his

<sup>\*</sup> These are the words used by those who kneel down to the priest to confess to him: their sins, and enable him to know all their secret thoughts, and it must be admitted that the *Ghostly Father* has associated himself in rather a flattering kind of fellowship—“I confess to the Almighty God, to the blessed Mary ever Virgin, to the blessed St. Michael, the Archangel, to the blessed St. John the Baptist, and to the holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, to all the saints in heaven, and to you my ghostly father.”

If all the saints of heaven are employed in listening to the confessional, they must have rather a busy time of it. It is to be presumed, that the people would not be directed by the church, thus to confess to them, unless it had ascertained that the confession was heard by those to whom it was addressed; and as scripture is silent on the subject, it may be presumed, that the knowledge of the fact came down to us by tradition, and as the scriptures are

tax-gatherers, and, to say truth, collected for him most successfully; and religious exclusiveness, hatred to Protestantism, and opposition to tithes, became consequently, the favourite topics of his agitation. The new vista through which Mr. O'Connell viewed public opinion, produced a corresponding change in his mode of following it. He now agitated as a sectarian, and gave a sectarian character to his different political associations—put forward his belief in Popery on all possible occasions—seemed even emulous of the fame of Father Maguire, and challenged, I believe, Mr. Lefroy to meet him in the field of religious controversy—denounced free-masonry on the eve of his collection, to conciliate the priests, who preach against it—being inimical to it, as they are to every other association they cannot controul; and no longer confining his exertions to the task of political agitation, he took up, by way of episode, religious agitation also. He had at last found out the broad way to public opinion, and he followed it accordingly, and with his usual devotedness.

He now became the regular and accredited champion of the priests, and was warmly applauded by them for putting forward and maintaining the Roman Catholic religion on all occasions, and keeping the association free from any tinge of liberalism that the late Mr. Lawless, or any other less orthodox agitator, might introduce into it. He has thus revived, in all its rancour,

equally silent on the selection of the particular saints, whose names are specially mentioned; it is to be presumed, the traditions of the church have handed down, that they are more particularly employed in that especial department in connection with the priest.



the spirit of religious bigotry in Ireland, and has confirmed the people in all their superstitious belief; and he has also, in an eminent degree, excited them against the Protestants, and drawn a line of separation between the Papists and every other description of the population;\* and he is now agitating, not for justice for Ireland, not for liberty, but for the destruction of the Protestant Church, and for the elevation of the priests to spiritual and temporal supremacy.

The happy result of all this to him is, that the priests have all now come forward in earnest to uphold him, they collect his rent, and invest him with popularity; and he in return promotes all their objects, and has even become a lay missionary, preaching Popery himself.—He glows with the fiercest zeal against the Protestant Church and its ministers, and talks of glebe-houses and land, and such other interesting matters for the priests; and with them he is now fully identified, being their accredited organ and their champion.

There can be no doubt that there is a strong party in this country anxious to effect its separation from England; the lower classes are all favourable to it—the priests to a man are bent on it—I have no doubt but that if favourable circumstances offered they would themselves, as they did before, raise the peasantry and head them, and the great cause of Mr.

\* Few circumstances contributed so much to keep up a spirit of bigotry, and an unchristian want of charity amongst Roman Catholics, as Mr. O'Connell's ostentatious refusal *even to enter the church*, when attending the funeral of the late Mr. Cobbet. I have been informed from different quarters that Roman Catholics who formerly joined Protestants in prayer-meetings, and attended their charity sermons, refused after this to do so.

O'Connell's popularity with the revolutionists and priests is, that there is in their minds a decided conviction that he means rebellion and separation, and intends at a proper time to be their leader, and to re-establish the Roman Church.

Mr. O'Connell's intentions and resolves rest concealed in his own bosom—I do not pretend to fathom them; but whatever his intentions really may be, all his speeches lead to the opinion that he contemplates a rebellion; every one must admit that they all tend to excite a rebellious feeling, and to induce the people to believe that he meditates a revolution. He has put himself forward as the BOLIVAR of Ireland, and proposed to establish an order of liberators of which he is to be the grand master. The reverend Dr. M'Hale has even spoken out so far as to compare him to Moses; and the people, though not well versed in the Bible, know well enough that Moses was, under God, the leader and captain of his chosen people, the Jews.

In pursuing the irksome task of wading through the disgustful scene of this man's political conduct, I should be sorry to do him injustice; and I am fully satisfied, he does not really wish to establish the dominion of the priests in Ireland. The hardy vigour of intellect that distinguishes him, would surely preserve him from being the dupe or the slave of the priest; and he has none of these moral elements in his composition, that would lead him to superstition. His knowledge of human nature is too acute, and he is also too arrogant, to really wish for priestly dominion, or to submit to it himself. He is also behind the curtain, and no man is better qualified to form a just estimate of these, our modern apostles, than he is.

Besides he now has the game in his own hands, they collect for him the rent, invest him with popularity, and have placed him in a position to make his terms with the government, and to betray the people whom he has incited. In return, he advocates Romanism for them, and denounces tithes and the Protestant religion. But Mr. O'Connell's political connexions are not lasting, the priests have served his turn, and public opinion may now be viewed by him through a new telescope.

He has fooled the people up to the top of their bent, and has now no alternative but to lead his wretched dupes and victims to the field—or at once to throw off the mask, and relinquish agitation, and cry out no more for “justice for Ireland;” I apprehend he will even leave his friends the priests, to work out the glebe houses and lands for themselves, and to preach popery in future, without the music of his accompaniment. I am fully satisfied he never did mean to separate the countries by means of a rebellion.

It is possible he may at times, in imagination, have conjured up the shades of Cromwell or of Emmett, but if so, it has been, “come like shadows so depart.” He is too old, too calculating and cold blooded to engage in such an attempt, and he is too discreet “to set his life upon the cast, or to stand the hazard of the die.” He now enjoys all he wants, and all he contemplates. “King GLAMIS CAWDOB, all he hast it,” I shall not pursue the quotation. He rules the viceroy, collects a large revenue, and riots in the kind of popularity in which he rejoices.

The hatred he avows towards England, I doubt not but he feels, but it is only a sentiment—though his

speeches may lead to a rebellion, he evidently does not himself wish for that practical result. If a *safe* system of agitation could have procured a parliamentary repeal of the union, he would, doubtless, be delighted to effect it, for in such an unfortunate event, the priests and he would then in truth, be the masters of the country. He endeavoured to gain the co-operation of the Protestants, in attempting it, but they had too much foresight and good sense to co-operate with him, in a measure that would be destructive to themselves.

He has been taunted by his radical friends, for not agitating the question of repeal, but he had far more sagacity than they have; he knew it would be a failure, and only expose the nakedness of the land, this power and popularity after all, are only seeming, and he wisely preferred keeping the repeal question in *petto* for a new government, and he was too shrewd to shoot away his last arrow, unless assured it would hit the mark.

He is now placed in a peculiar position, and as it appears to me, he is on the eve of another political transformation. He has excited the people to the very utmost, and he himself seems to dread the results of his agitation. In fact for this some time past, he has ceased to agitate, except to give energy to the begging box, when it went its *last* round. He has led the people to think he will head them, and he has stimulated them to rebellion, to such a degree, that though agitation has ceased on his part, the spirit is still alive. It is quite clear he has altogether changed his system, he never did, nor does he now mean rebellion, and he has lately been between two conflicting forces,

His connection with the government, and his avarice were, during the rent period, pulling him in two opposite directions. He should forego agitation, to maintain the former—but no rent, no agitation; and the time has now arrived when he must decide. As it is, his popularity has begun to wane, but a man of his versatility and sagacity has not neglected to be provided with a resource; and a permanent and lucrative situation is far better, than a precarious and forced contribution.

Should the present Viceroy be continued, Mr. O'Connell's connection with the castle, will render it necessary for him not only to relinquish his hitherto lucrative trade of agitation, but even as far as he can to put down the demon which he has raised. When he ceases to agitate, and to put forward revolutionary opinions and declare revolutionary intentions, his popularity will cease, and the people will endeavour to find out another BOLIVAR—they will no longer contribute to his begging-box—and their reverences, when they discover he is no longer playing their tune, will necessarily look out for another bugle-horn; and so long as the priests have influence in Ireland, we shall never want at least a Papineau.

When the priests cease to collect his rent and are no longer necessary to his objects, their reverences will in their turn become his "incomprehensibles;" besides he has followed public opinion so long and so successfully, that it has placed him in a position to reap the fruit of his labours, and to set up for himself.

Under such circumstances, it is not improbable, but that his eyes may be again opened to the errors of the church of Rome, that the flame, even of Protestantism,

might animate his Irish heart, dissipate the mist that obscured his way to the woolsack, and enable him to quarter all the young Hannibals on the country, according to the most approved precedent of the tory, whig and radical Lord, that now occupies it.

" But lowliness is young ambition's ladder,  
 Whereto the climber upwards turns his looks,  
 But when he once attains the topmost round,  
 He then unto the ladder turns his back,  
 Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees  
 By which he did ascend. So Cæsar may."

I have now done with Mr. O'Connell, nothing but an anxious desire to unmask the motives, and counteract the objects of a man labouring for evil, could have sustained me in the irksome task in which I have been engaged. I have been many years a silent observer of his career; I admit I have always viewed him with distaste and distrust; but I entertained no political prejudice to bias unfairly my estimate of him, I was also deeply interested in the success of the cause which he advocated, and if he appeared to me under an unfavourable aspect, it was not caused by the medium through which I viewed him.

I could moreover have respected him for the moral courage that sustained him, in resisting the semi-barbarous, and unchristian practice of duelling, a custom that cannot be supported by any one argument; being in opposition not alone to the dictates of common sense, but also to the divine precepts of the gospel.

Besides animal courage can scarcely be called a virtue, and amongst a brave people, such as the Irish confessedly are; its possession confers no distinction — it is its absence that excites surprise.

I respect the man advocating like a gentleman, the cause of his country, and who when he is wantonly assailed by some reckless or practised duellist; rises superior to false notions of worldly honor, and abides by the dictates of another and of a far higher tribunal: The life of a public man is also too valuable to be wantonly risked, or thrown away.

But whilst I concede to Mr. O'Connell, all due praise for the excellent example he has given, I regret that he should have done any thing to weaken its force, or to render questionable the *motives* of his registry; it would have been gratifying to every christian, if when Mr. O'Connell informed the House of Commons "he had registered a vow in heaven not to fight," that he had at the same time communicated to them that he had placed a supplementary one on the file—not to offend.

I had arranged a great variety of documents illustrative of the charges I have brought against Mr. O'Connell, and of the motives which, in the discharge of a public duty, I have felt justified in imputing to him as influencing the system of politics he has pursued. But on consideration, I am satisfied that it is needless to swell this little tract by their insertion, and I am happy to be relieved from the irksome and unnecessary task. It has been so fully and so unanswerably done by Mr. Crawford, Mr. McDonnell, Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Finn, and by others, and the facts themselves are so notorious, that it would be like disinterring some loathsome object to seek for new evidence to establish facts, on which the coroner had already recorded the unanimous verdict of his jury.

When I consider the condition to which this man

has reduced his unfortunate country, I feel it difficult to restrain the expression of my feelings when I write of him. His whole career has been one unbroken scene of turbulent excitement—destructive to the country—beneficial to himself. He has traded on the rebellious propensities of the people, and has excited them the more ; and no man of good feeling, or who is anxious for the peace and the prosperity of his native land, can contemplate him in the game that he is playing, with any other sentiments than those of abhorrence and disgust. No man had ever so much power to serve his country, and no man ever did so little for the money he has so assiduously and avariciously won from his deceived and misguided followers. There never was a period since the connection between the countries, when so general a feeling existed in England and Scotland to ameliorate the condition of the Irish people. Every public man, of every party, was anxious to benefit us. When the people were starving they liberally contributed to their wants, and a number of intelligent individuals travelled through the country, to ascertain the causes of its distress, and to contribute to their removal. The cheapness of labour, the facility of communication, the various water powers which the country possesses, afforded strong temptation to the English manufacturer to embark his capital in works that would have been beneficial to the people. Societies of different descriptions endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the country. Some by instituting statistical inquiries, and devising practical measures to advance its manufacturing, mining, agricultural, and commercial industry ; others exerted themselves to promote the education of the



people; to withdraw them from their vicious habits, to emancipate them from the dark bondage of superstition by which they were enslaved, and to diffuse over their minds the sacred light of the Gospel. They subscribed also large sums of money to effect these important and beneficial objects.

Mr. O'Connell stood in the position of all others most favourable to advance all these benevolent measures. No man had ever so much power with the people, his will was with them as a law, he might have poured balm over their misguided and irritated feelings, led them into the useful paths of industry, and shown them how it was their interest to pursue them. The confidence reposed in him by the people, invested him with great influence with the government, and he is himself a man of strong understanding, and possesses a powerful and practical mind, well able either to afford useful suggestions, or to follow up those of others, and to co-operate with these benevolent individuals both here and in England, who were disposed to benefit Ireland.

I demand of the warmest admirer of this man to point out what are the useful measures he has either suggested or carried into effect for the benefit of his country; the only objects for which he has lately agitated and disturbed the country, are to rob the Established Church of its property, and under the pretext of corporate Reform, to degrade still more the elective franchise, and to call into activity a more mischievous power at the hustings. He has conferred with no manufacturer—with no merchant, he has joined with no statistical or practical society for suggesting useful measures of amelioration; he has not interested

himself in, or assisted the salutary labours of others, he has himself come forward with no one useful practical suggestion; in the education of the country he has done nothing—no one beneficial measure or suggestion has emanated from him.

What then are his achievements?—he has advocated and abused every set of men, and every set of measures; he has betrayed every party, and turned against every friend; and he is as mercenary as he is treacherous. Amongst all the opportunities open to him to benefit his country, he has effected for it no one useful measure. He has excited the wretched peasant against his landlord, and then left him to suffer the miseries which must necessarily flow from his opposition; he has even sunk him in a still lower state of degradation, than he was before. He has led the poor deluded people to expect some benefit from the results of his agitation—they contributed their miserable savings to his avarice; they stinted their wretched dinner to contribute to his shameless begging-box; and the only benefit the unfortunate peasant has received, is ejection from his tenement, and deeper degradation; all the sources of industry are dried up—violence and murder prevail in every quarter—the gentry are driven from their seats—all useful measures of improvement are suspended—and an insurmountable barrier is raised against the investments of English capital, to establish manufactures, and to diffuse wealth and industry, in consequence of his agitation.\*

\* Some few years back an association was formed by the late Mr. Leader, Mr. Latouche, and others, to devise practical measures for the amelioration of Ireland, instituting various statistical inquiries with a view to bring her bogs into cultivation, improve her harbours

He has done nothing but agitate, pandering to the ambition of the priest, and upholding his superstitious influence; leading the disloyal to think he was an advocate for revolution, and deceiving the peasant that he might regard him as the agent of his future prosperity, in leading him to a revolution.

When, therefore, I review all the mischief he has caused; the turbulent and lawless condition to which he has reduced the country; the poverty and misery which have resulted from his agitation—viewing him under all these aspects, combined with the abusive and arrogant intolerance, in which he has done all this, he can be regarded only in the light of some political monster, sent here by the mysterious dispensations of Providence, to punish us for our transgres-

and her roads, advance her agriculture, her manufactures and her commerce, so far from co-operating with them in a good spirit, he used every means in his power to put them down, and to divert the attention of the people from their useful labours—he felt that measures such as these gentlemen were pursuing, would be fatal to the permanence of his own mischievous ascendancy, which rests alone on the distress and turbulence of the people. If the peasants were reconciled to their landlords, they would lose their hatred to Protestants, they would permit their children to be instructed in the word of God, social order and tranquillity would resume their sway, the gentry would be reconciled to a grateful and happy tenantry, exercising over them a wholesome and legitimate influence, bettering their condition, and spending amongst them their property, and exciting them to industry—all this would be fatal to the, I should almost say, Satanic policy of this man. He ridiculed the society, as if it were doing evil, and the gentlemen who formed it, seeing how their exertions were received, and that even those for whose benefit they were intended, were excited against them, gave up in despair their useful efforts, which it was the wicked policy of Mr. O'Connell to frustrate.

sions. I can discover in him no one ray of brightness, to relieve the dark picture of his political life—he has not even the virtues of the brigand to redeem him.

## MARCUS.

O ! Portius, is there not some curse—  
Some hidden thunder in the stores of heav'n,  
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man  
Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin ?

## PORTIUS.

Believe me, Marcus, 'tis an impious greatness,  
And mix'd with too much horror to be envied.

The rebel-leaders of 1798 were honest though they were misled ; but they did not delude the people, by pandering to their lawless passions for the base purpose of obtaining wealth and power for themselves. They did meditate a rebellion, a separation from England, and a republic ; and they put forward these their intentions manfully and directly to the people, and invited their co-operation. In defiance of the law they organized themselves, into treasonable societies, to prepare and forward the work of rebellion. They did not avariciously extort money from others, as a reward for their revolutionary and deceitful agitation, but they contributed their own money, to put arms into the hands of the people, whom they excited to revolt, whom they were prepared to head, and whom they did not dupe or betray. They endangered their own lives in the conspiracy, and “they died like men too,” faithful to their principles and to each other.

“This Triton of the minnows” seditionizes under a

legal quibble, and is a pettifogger in rebellion.. He swaggers in all the vulgar arrogance of plebeian rule, from one lawless meeting to another, exciting the rebellious passions of the people, causing them to think he will be their leader, and then screens himself behind the curtain, leaving them to the consequences of these crimes which have resulted from his excitement, exclaiming, perhaps, like Falstaff, "I have conducted my ragamuffins to where they will be well peppered." In the mean time, secure himself in the storm which he has raised, he traffics with the government on his power to do mischief, whilst he pockets the money of his betrayed and misguided victims, and for whom he has done nothing.

He has now reached the pinnacle of his glory; he is the idol of the rabble, the hireling of the priest, and the shameless, selfish, heartless disturber of his country.

*"Quousque tandem abutere, Catalina patientia nostra? quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? \* \* Patere tua consilia non sentis? in te conferri (oportebat) pestem istam, quam in nos omnes jamdiu machinaris."*

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONCLUSION.

THE time has at length arrived for England to consider the condition of Ireland, to consolidate the union between the countries, and to compensate her by the wisdom, the justice, and the liberality of her laws for centuries of misrule. Every element in the social frame of this devoted country has been hitherto working for evil; and from the period the see of Rome sold Ireland to the second Henry, and obtained consequently a dominion over its then independent church, up to nearly the present time, this country has been the victim of the misrule and narrow jealousy of England. Its internal resources were left uncultivated, and its manufacturing and commercial enterprises so far from being encouraged, were oppressed, they were sacrificed to the selfish policy and commercial jealousy of England. The country was governed by a succession of factions, who betrayed its interest to England, for an exclusive monopoly of its plunder in return.

The unwise policy of the penal code contributed in an eminent degree to demoralize society; it created enmities between the people, not alone between strangers, but even between relatives and friends, it even ex-

tended its unhappy influence into the bosom of the domestic circle; arrayed brothers against each other, and children against their parents. It led to every species of crime, demoralizing and degrading the people, and it unhappily also contributed, in an eminent degree, to retard the progress of gospel religion.

But in considering the various efforts made by the see of Rome to subvert the great and glorious triumph which Protestants, under the providence of God, had won by their good swords for themselves, it is only fair to admit there were many reasons fully to justify the enactment of coercive laws. Nor is it to be wondered at, that with their wounds still reeking, and rankling, and conspiracy after conspiracy rendering insecure the great and invaluable benefits alike temporal and spiritual that resulted from the Reformation, that they should have chained down to the very earth the dark and blind slaves of the Roman pontiff, who, by every evil means, sought to deprive them of the fruits of their happy victory. But all oppression, when the necessity for its exercise has ceased, becomes an act of injustice, and when pushed to an extreme it defeats the object for which it was intended, and the acquiescence which mildness might have produced, would be roused and changed by severity into resistance. "There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as in religion, which makes us love the cause for which we suffer."

The question between the Protestant and Roman Catholic party in Ireland, was not merely one of religion, it was political also; it was not alone the Church of Rome against the Church of England, but it was the one country against the other. The warfare

between the two parties gradually changed its character, and those who engaged in it were frequently influenced by various, and even opposite motives, in pursuing the same end.

Violent and injudicious partizans, political adventurers, men careless of principle, and seeking only personal elevation, will appear in the ranks of every political and religious association. There will always be the alloy of vulgar minds and violent purpose mixing itself up with what is pure and valuable in every party, be it Protestant or Roman Catholic.

In all associations, religious as well as political, there will be a descending scale of gradation from pure and honorable principle, to selfish, violent, and dishonorable purpose. Each party will be anxious to bring forward in full relief, the transgressions of its antagonist, and with mutual exaggeration. In this contest between parties and opinions, between men and measures, where much of evil will be mixed up with much of what is good, the mild, the temperate, and the timid, will be embarrassed—and viewing the errors of the contending parties rather with the eye of the moralist than of the partizan, and not knowing where to choose, will feel themselves constrained to remain neutral.—But more energetic and loftier spirits will march on with a bolder and steadier step, in the support of these principles which they deem right, and which they consider essential to the cause of religion and good government; and though obliged to mix themselves up with much of what they condemn, yet conscious that good and evil are inseparably united in all human affairs, they will strive for the former with the least possible alloy of the



latter, and with as little amount of evil as may be necessary for their obtaining it.

Other questions were mixed up with the subjects of religion and British connection, and the conflicting opinions of the tories, the whigs, and the levellers, contributed still farther to separate the parties from each other, and also to create disunion between the parties themselves.

There seems to be a strange clog on the progress of man, in his advances to improvement; and all useful suggestions in science and in the arts, and for the amelioration of our forms of government, of our laws, and of our intellectual and religious systems, have all to work their way through opposition. Old and mistaken notions, false doctrines in government, in philosophy, and in religion, have always opposed the progress of truth. Man progresses, but slowly, and is turned aside from his course by every kind of impediment—truth has to fight the battle with error, good with evil, which opposes her in every step of her progress, and contracts the sphere of her utility.

The great truth, that all government was constituted for the good of the community, and that its value should be tested by its utility alone, has not even as yet obtained general sanction, and this unanswerable axiom is still strenuously opposed by those who claim for themselves a monopoly of the power, and of the wealth of the country.

First, the king was all in all, and every thing, the power and the glory of the state were his, and his alone—it was his happiness, and not the well-being of the nation that was considered to be the end of go-

vernment. Even those intellectual achievements which refine and exalt humanity, and give men a new power and dominion over nature, were considered less with reference to the enlightened and abstracted individuals who put them forth, than as they embellished the glory of the monarch who then happened to reign. It was Alexander who reflected a light on Aristotle, it was Augustus that conferred glory on Horace, Virgil and the other accomplished spirits of his æra; and the classic period of our English literature, is spoken of rather with reference to the reign of Queen Anne, than to those who reflected their light on the nation.

The nobles of England after a severe struggle, asserted at length their paramount rights, and then the king and the nobility were every thing and the people were as nothing. By degrees a third party raised its head in the state, and asserted its just claims to consideration; but though it worked its way, so as nominally to form a part of the constitution, still the power was altogether with the nobility; they legislated exclusively in their own house of parliament, and they returned the members to the other; they monopolized all the power and emoluments of the State, and they gave nothing in return; they would rectify no abuse, nor agree to any plan of reform; they would have an intolerant Church, and a House of Commons returned by themselves; they quartered on the country all the branches of their families to live on the industry of the people, and unobservant of the times, they opposed every effort to remedy these crying abuses, till in the end the advocates for a safe, moderate, and salutary reform, and for extending the elective franchise so as to enable the middle ranks of society to return the

members to the house in which they were supposed to be represented, finding all efforts in vain to accomplish these beneficial measures, called to their aid the radical party, and gave so sweeping an act of reform as to endanger the necessary balance of power in the constitution.

The opposition made to useful suggestions in the arts and in the sciences, happily tends ultimately to good, it leads to a more rigid analysis—a more accurate investigation, and contributes to the acquisition of new and more extensive improvements. But in politics, when pushed too far, by impeding the enactment of what would be beneficial, it frequently in the end leads to an overwhelming catastrophe; and the laws and institutions which in the first instance might have only undergone a salutary reformation, may ultimately be altogether overturned.

The opposition made by the nobles and the clergy of France, to the more enlightened views of religion and civil policy, that began to prevail towards the end of the last century, contributed to precipitate the tremendous revolution that followed, and added in an eminent degree to its ferocious character. Instead of a salutary reformation in its religion—infidelity triumphed, and the refusal, till too late, to reform the monarchy and the constitution, precipitated the nation into all the horrors of a sanguinary democracy.

The Tory party in England in opposing the spirit of the age, and shutting the door on all measures of useful reform, have been and are now working also for evil. Toryism is a relic of the feudal system, and whatever may be the personal character of those who now seek to uphold it, in a more modified form, still it is too

much in opposition to the political power of the middle and orderly classes of society, as well as to safe and salutary plans of reformation. It is true that the House of Lords have made a noble stand in stemming the torrent of those revolutionary principles now so prevalent in England, and has fully asserted its claim and its utility to form an integral part of our yet glorious constitution; and it may in truth, now be considered as the PALLADIUM of England: But it must not be forgotten, that the blind and persevering opposition made by the Tories to all amelioration in the constitution, weakened the energies and divided the power of the liberal advocates of safe and salutary measures of reform, meeting the growing wealth and intelligence of the middle classes, and in the end caused an unprincipled party in a desperate effort to retain power, to call the Radicals to their assistance, and form a base union with a revolutionary faction.

The whigs of the old school were too wise to entrust the constitution to a radical constituency. It is true that when out of office, they talked loudly of liberty, but they lowered their tone wonderfully when they had the power to carry into effect the measures they had recommended when in opposition. Of all the public characters of the present day, Sir Frances Burdett contributed most to unmask the selfish and deceitful policy of the Whigs, and during the time he enacted the part of radical leader, he deprived them of the popular support.

The whigs and the tories met then as two parties in the state, in whose contest for place the great mass of the people had no interest or sympathy. The crown, the church, and all those who were in opposition to

reform, as tending in their opinion to revolution, remained with the tories.

As a party, the Tories were intolerant and exclusive, but they were honest in their declarations and true to the principles they professed. The cause of social order and the due ascendancy of the law were at least secure under their administration, and when the French revolution raised its portentous head, and threatened the subversion of religion and of law, not alone in France, but in every country in Europe; the tory party manfully took their stand, and preserved England from a revolution, and the better portion of the whig party then joined their ranks, and fought under the banner of the king and the church.

Sir Frances Burdett, though now in the eleventh hour, cannot be too highly lauded for his manliness and decision in leaving the revolutionary camp, when his eyes were fully opened to the consequences that would result, should that party be enabled to advance their lines nearer to the citadel of the constitution.

We have arrived at a new era; the Reform Bill has completely destroyed the balance of power in the State, and there are now in it only two parties—CONSERVATIVES and LEVELLERS. The Whigs when they called the Radicals to their aid merged into that party; they cannot recal their steps, nor resume that high and independent position they once occupied. They now exist only by the aid of the radical party, and if they continue to hold the reins of government, by their agency and support—they must make corresponding sacrifices in return, till every bulwark of our Constitution in Church and State is totally swept away. The Church and the House of Lords are already threatened, and England is rapidly tending to a revolution

and a republic. There remains nothing to save the country but a coalition between the Tory party and the sound portion of the Whigs; and should such a desirable event happily take place, and that the former should forego their too rigid and exclusive policy, and should the measures of their government keep pace with the improving spirit of the age, all the orderly portion of society will rally round them, and the Constitution in Church and State may yet be preserved.

In Ireland the danger is of a far different character—it is here altogether a contest for the re-establishment of the Church of Rome, and for the temporal and spiritual ascendancy of its priesthood by the agency of the peasantry. It is difficult to calculate on the future movements of the leading agitator; supposing for a moment, that he is only deluding the priests to make them his instruments, and that they may have been the means of his obtaining a dishonourable passport to place—from whence he may deride them—agitation would not for that cause be suspended.

The power possessed by Mr. O'Connell was not an inherent power of his own; he derived it all from pandering to the disloyalty of the people, and from his advocacy of the exclusive doctrines of the Romish Church; it was the utterance of these sentiments, which administered to their political and religious antipathies, that gave all the effect to his coarse and vulgar declamations. But whatever the opinions or future conduct of Mr. O'Connell may be, THE PRIESTS ARE IN EARNEST, and they have many objects yet to obtain. The Crown is yet Protestant and some other securities to sustain the Established Church have been permitted to exist. No one can imagine the Romish priests will

be satisfied till every impediment in the way of their doctrines is removed, and then their next efforts will be to obtain the revenues of the Protestant Church, and the ascendancy of their own; they will then extirpate heresy, and as Christ's viceregents assume absolute sway, both temporal and spiritual. If, therefore, the priests and their instruments have suspended agitation, it is because they avail themselves of the imbecility and blindness of the Irish government to mature the necessary measures to obtain their objects hereafter, and in the mean time they are intrenching themselves in all the strong holds of the country, and have already become a most formidable body in the State. So long as the Irish government is their blind and servile instrument, they will not excite the lawlessness of the people—and the means by which her Majesty's representative is now enabled to preserve any semblance of tranquillity, is by their influence purchased by his subserviency. In the mean time their power of future disturbance is becoming every day more firmly organized. Agitation has not ceased, it is only suspended, and the principle has been virtually avowed and acted on by the radical leader, that unless he has a subservient government he will revive the repeal question and again disturb the country. Tranquillity cannot be calculated on for a moment; we repose on a volcano, and government instead of resorting to the law to secure tranquillity, and reposing on the Protestant Church and its loyal members for support, have bribed the disloyal into a suspension of their revolutionary agitation, and have allowed them to carry on undisturbed such measures, and have placed them in

such a position as will enable them to render that agitation more fearful when it is to be resumed.

The Protestants have no safety but in coalition, and if they coalesce in a liberal spirit of amity towards their Roman Catholic countrymen, they will be met, more than half way, by all the respectable portion of that community, who whatever religious opinions they may profess, are equally adverse, as are the Protestants, to mob and priestly dominion.

The only party the priests can calculate on to sustain them are the peasantry, and they will never fail to excite them, nor desist from their endeavour to establish the vile abomination of their worship, till the people are enlightened, and they themselves coerced by the power of the law. There never can be peace in Ireland, nor security for the connexion with England, till their power is annihilated by the education of the people in the religion of the gospel, and every Protestant is blind to his interests and an alien to Christ, who does not co-operate and give his aid in promoting the great and paramount object of religious instruction, and withdrawing the people from that hateful dominion, which is alike fatal to their temporal as well as spiritual interests.

It has been a great misfortune to Ireland that England has not been hitherto impressed with the paramount necessity of instructing the people of Ireland in the religion of the gospel—instead of endeavouring to enlighten she coerced them—and the man who goes forth with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other, will never be a successful preacher of the doctrines of our Divine Redeemer.

In the construction of the penal laws, which the



Protestants deemed essential to their security, they committed one great and signal error, and which more than any other cause contributed to prevent the spread of the reformation. Instead of leaving the laity free, they bound them and the church in one common chain—the effect of which was the more closely to cement their union.

The Roman Church, and its priesthood, were the great and the crying evil, they alone should have been coerced. The laity whether Protestants or Roman Catholics were alike the victims of the Church of Rome, whenever it had the power to crush them.

No individual should be punished for his opinions unless they are evinced in acts dangerous to society, and then the punishment should be extended to those alone who transgressed. A peaceable, though misguided community should not suffer *en masse* for the crimes of some of its members. The opinions of men are variable, and liable to change—they are the sport of every varying event—but the mere abstract religious opinions of individuals, politically speaking, are not dangerous.

The best, and indeed the only engine to effect the religious improvement of the people is a moral and not a coercive one—emancipate the layman from the bondage of unjust and restrictive laws, give him the benefits of religious instruction, and place the Bible in his hands, and then, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, he will emancipate himself from the spiritual bondage of that Church, to which the pressure of the law had only bound him the closer. The danger is from the Church and not from the laity—they are its slaves and its victims, and instead of being coerced

along with it, they should be emancipated alike from its spiritual and temporal dominion.

With the priesthood of that church you can form no treaty, you cannot enter into any compromise with them—there can be no approximation on the part of the priest either towards the Church of England or its ministers. The priests stand alone and distinct—they now do and have always done so. They do not admit the validity of any other form of ordination but their own, and they consider all other forms of Christianity as heresies, subjecting their professors to eternal punishment, and they teach this doctrine to the people.

The Protestant bishops according to their views are not bishops—their ordination is of no avail. A priest does not allow the validity of a marriage celebrated by a Protestant clergyman; he considers the offspring of all such marriages as illegitimate; he would not ordain the offspring of such a marriage; he would not allow them the civil rights of legitimacy. From a person holding such opinions, it would be in vain for the Protestant to expect any softening down of prejudices, or of his meeting him in the spirit of Christian charity and toleration.

¶ The peculiar spirit of the Roman Catholic religion opposes still further obstacles to any conciliation or mutual softening down of opinion. All Protestant sects hold the Bible as the word of God, containing all doctrines necessary for our salvation. They acknowledge its authority alone; that it is the sole record of man's fall, and of his redemption by Christ, and that it was written by the apostles, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to teach all ages and nations, Christ promising that he would be with that word, of

which the apostles have left us the record, till the end of the world. The priest shuts up this book from the people, and tells them it is dangerous to read the words which were written for their instruction by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. They distort also the meaning of the Scriptures, in order to convert the Bible into an authority against itself. In the words of Scripture they tell the people that many "wrest the Bible to their destruction;" impiously attributing to the *perusal* of the word of God, the "destruction" that results alone from its not being read with the proper spirit. They have put themselves in the place of the word of God, and they are to the ignorant, its sole interpreters, and to that word have added also doctrines of their own, which they put forward as of equal authority. In addition to all this, they constitute themselves the medium through which alone their misguided followers can communicate with Christ, they say that God's mercies are transmitted through them, and by means of their influence; teaching the ignorant that they held the keys both of hell and of heaven, and that they have the power of opening and closing them. The whole series of the priestly acts in Ireland is an aggression on the liberties of the people. They place themselves as a dark cloud between the people and Christ—they take from them the word of God without even the authority of their religion for doing so, and substitute themselves in its place, claiming to be alone entitled to promulgate that word, and teaching the people to look not to it but to them for salvation. All the doctrines of the Romish Church tend to deify the priest, and to take the salvation of man out of the hands of Christ, and

to place it in those of the priesthood of the Church of Rome. It is her ceremonies, rites and sacraments that confer salvation, and the priest can alone administer them—she maintains that they are necessary for salvation, and that he from whom she withholds them is consigned to eternal punishment. In consequence of the hatred with which they inspire the people against the Protestants, they are the chief instruments in preventing tranquillity; the minds of the peasantry cannot settle down in quiet, in consequence of the state of excitement in which they keep them; they dread the influence of friendly intercourse with their Protestant landlords, and they keep them in an attitude of constant hostility on that account, putting themselves forward to the peasantry as the only authorities they should obey, and the only guides they should follow.

There can be no doubt that there is organized in Ireland, and that it is in active operation also, a secret, powerful, and dread tribunal which has assumed to itself the government of the land, and that its members take upon themselves to regulate the affairs of the country, and exercise a power far more formidable than that of the law. They denounce from the altar, they excite the people to lawlessness, and exercise over them an unlimited despotism by the agency of their superstition. They direct all things, as if invested with unlimited authority—they dictate to the rulers of the land, and send members to parliament, who must in return obey their dictates—they watch over even the private conduct of Protestants, and know all their proceedings and their domestic secrets by the agency of the confessional. The Protestants court

them through fear, and contribute to their exactions. There can be no security for the country, nor no hope for its civilization or prosperity, till this order is put down—*delenda est Carthago*.

In whatever country the Church of Rome exists, it is a regularly organized power, always encroaching on the spiritual and temporal rights of men; its spiritual weapons are maledictions, and every Canon of its Councils is accompanied by an anathema against those who disbelieve in it. Whenever it can it enforces its doctrines with every species of cruelty and oppression. It excites nation against nation, the people against their lawful sovereigns; and consigns to the dungeon, to the torture, and to the flame, those who dissent from its creed. There can be no civil or religious freedom where that Church has power, there can be no security for their continuance, where that Church is permitted to exist, without every effort being unceasingly made to controul it. It will invariably carry on an open or a secret war to re-establish its intolerant supremacy. Every engine and power of the state should be employed to crush that *imperium in imperio*, and every exertion should be made to emancipate the people from its dark and dangerous dominion.

Unless Lord Mulgrave be at once recalled, and a new system of policy be pursued, the Protestants have no alternative but to arm themselves and confederate for protection. Unless agitation be put down by the strong arm of the law, there is no security either for the permanence or the existence of tranquillity, nor for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the connection with England. Unless lawless meetings, under the pretext of petition, are prevented, the agitators,

aided by the priests, when they have no longer a selfish and subservient government at their command to advance their objects, will again congregate the people in large and turbulent assemblies to overawe the peaceable, and to maintain their own bad, mischievous and lawless dominion. The tranquillity of the country should be secured by the influence of the law, and not be any longer allowed to depend on the influence of superstitious and seditious disturbers.

The ordinary law which is competent to controul a civilized people, is inadequate to restrain an ignorant and ferocious populace, excited by superstition; where the priest enlists the power of religion in aid of civil commotion to sanctify the commission of every crime, and then leads the people to believe that his absolution will obtain their pardon. The advocates of liberal opinions in England, who hitherto, in ignorance of the true condition of Ireland, and of the ulterior views of those who now so fearfully excite it, opposed the enactment of those restrictive laws, which were essential to the peace of the country, will not now refuse the government the necessary power to preserve tranquillity; and even the English radical, when his eyes are opened to the conviction—that it is not here a contest for liberty, but a desperate effort, on the part of the priests, to render the peasantry their agents in establishing Popery in Ireland, and separating it from England, will concur in the necessity of strong measures to preserve the integrity of the empire, and to save Ireland from the abhorrent dominion of the Church of Rome and its priesthood.

It is not yet too late for England to retrace its steps, and secure the unity of the empire—but it can only

be secured by Protestantism. The existence of the connection can only be obtained by an unity of religious belief. So long as Ireland continues in the errors of popery, the priests will never suspend their efforts to obtain an ascendancy; and that ascendancy, if it should unfortunately be obtained, must lead to a separation.

Every effort should, therefore, be made to repress the spread of sedition by the strong arm of the law; and every moral influence should be employed to wean the people from the doctrines of the priests, and to free them from the dark and degrading bondage of their yoke.

THE END.





